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INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

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BY

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PREFACE.

THE writers hope that this book may be of use to students in theological colleges, and to others. As far as possible references have been given to books written in, or translated into, English.

The sections on the first three Gospels and the Acts have been written by Archdeacon Allen. For the critical discussions on the remaining books, L. W. Grensted is responsible.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

I.

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

THE problem is this—

The first three Gospels contain narratives of the life of Christ which present points both of agreement and disagreement.

A. AGREEMENT—(1) *In material.*—If Mk. be taken as the basis of comparison, it will be found that most of its material reappears in the other two Gospels. Mt. has almost all the material of Mk., with the following exceptions :

Mk. i. 23–28. Healing of a Demoniac.
i. 35–39. Preaching in the synagogues.
iv. 26–29. Parable of Seed growing secretly.
vii. 32–37. Healing of a deaf man.
viii. 22–26. Healing of a blind man.
ix. 38–40. The Exorcist.
xii. 41–44. The widow's alms.

The third Gospel contains material corresponding

to almost the whole of Mark, with the following exceptions:

i. 16–20. Call of Apostles.
iii. 19–30. Beelzebub.
iv. 26–29. Seed growing secretly.
vi. 1–6. Visit to Nazareth.
vi. 17–29. Death of the Baptist.
vi. 45–viii. 25.
ix. 10–13. Elias.
ix. 41–50. Discourse.
x. 1–12. Divorce.
x. 35–45. Sons of Zebedee.
xi. 12–14, 20–25. Fig Tree.
xii. 28–34. The Scribe's question.
xiii. 34–36.
xiv. 3–9. Bethany.

In several of these cases Lk. has a parallel narrative, but not placed in the same order as that of Mk., and differing from it: *e.g.* Call of Apostles, Lk. v. 1–12; Visit to Nazareth, iv. 16–20; a discourse about Beelzebub, xi. 14–22; a question of a lawyer, x. 25–27; an anointing similar to that at Bethany, vii. 36–40, etc.

(2) *In order of sections.*—The narratives in which Lk. agrees closely with Mk. are in the same order in both Gospels. Roughly speaking, that is also the case with the narratives common to Mt. and Mk. But in the section Mk. i. 23–vi. 6, Mt. viii. 1–xiii. 58, there is much disagreement in order between the two Gospels.

(3) *In phraseology.*—This may be seen by a

careful comparison of the language of, *e.g.*, Mt. iv. 18–22 = Mk. i. 16–20, or Mt. xii. 1–4 = Mk. ii. 23–26 = Lk. vi. 1–4.

This agreement extends to the structure of sentences, *e.g.* a parenthetical insertion of a detail of fact in the middle of a speech, Mt. ix. 6 = Mk. ii. 10 = Lk. v. 24; and to the use of unusual or rare words, *e.g.* ψιχίον, Mt. xv. 27 = Mk. vii. 28; δυσκόλως, Mt. xix. 23 = Mk. x. 23 = Lk. xviii. 24.

(4) *In general outline.*—In all three Gospels the ministry of Christ is preluded by the preaching of the Baptist and the Baptism and Temptation of Christ. Then follows a ministry in Galilee, succeeded by travels on the outskirts of Galilee. Then a narrative of a journey to Jerusalem ushers in the last week of Christ's life.

B. Disagreement.—Side by side with the similarities lie diversities. And it was these that formed the problem for the Christians of the first three centuries. They found it strange that inspired writers should ever differ. In modern times we do not marvel that there should be discrepancies in three narratives by different authors. The problem for us lies in their minute literary agreement.

The following explanations have been given:

(1) That behind our Gospels must be presupposed a background of oral tradition which gradually became fixed and stereotyped in many details of language and order. This theory fails to account for the curious mixture of agreement and divergence in small points which we find in our Gospels.

(2) That one of our Gospels has been used by the other two. This will explain a good deal, and is now very generally accepted in the form that Mk. is the earliest of our three Gospels, and has been used by the other two. But there still remains much which is not covered by this explanation. Besides the matter which they have in common with Mk., the first and third Gospels have a good deal of material common to them both. Here, too, the same literary features of agreement and divergence recur. And it is generally held that this cannot be explained by supposing a use of one of the two Gospels by the other.

(3) That our Gospels are based upon lost documentary sources. This has taken two main forms. It has been supposed that our second Gospel is an excerpt of a longer Gospel (Ur-Marcus), and that the second and third evangelists have had access both to this original Mk. and to our Mk. Secondly, it has been held that the material common to the first and third Gospels was drawn from a lost source, consisting mainly of sayings and discourses. This is now generally called Q (= *Quelle*, German for "Source").

(4) The view most generally held combines (2) and (3). It is believed that it can be proved that our Mk. is the basis of the second and third Gospels, and that the material common to these two Gospels was drawn from a source (Q) now no longer extant.

Much can be explained in this way, but there still remain some difficulties; *e.g.* Mt. and Lk. often

agree in common against Mk. either in phraseology or in small additions or omissions within a narrative common to all three. How explain these agreements if the second and third evangelists are independently editing Mk. ? The following explanations have been given : (1) the use of an Ur-Marcus side by side with our Mk.; (2) the rather different supposition that the text of Mk. used by the two later Gospels differed in small points from the text of the second Gospel that has been transmitted to us ; (3) allowance for some use of the first Gospel by the third ; (4) assimilation of the texts of the first and third Gospels to one another in process of transmission. Probably all these views should be combined.

The following points, then, are generally regarded as proved :

(1) The use of Mk. in Mt. and Lk., (2) the use by Mt. and Lk. of a discourse source (Q). This source is generally constructed by putting together the material common to Mt. and Lk.[1] It may be doubted, however, whether the document so reached gives us any adequate idea of the real Q. For it is quite unlikely that Mt. and Lk. both incorporated the whole of it. Both of them have probably omitted some portions of it. That, if true, means that we ought to put into it sayings that occur only in Mt. or only in Lk., and that it may have contained much that has been omitted from both Gospels. The present writer believes that the source is most

[1] See Harnack's reconstruction of Q, in *The Sayings of Jesus.*

truly represented in Mt., and that we reach a true conception of its character by placing in it the material common to Mt. and Lk., and also most of the discourse material peculiar to Mt.[1] In this way we can build up a source with several very marked features. He believes, further, that Lk. used this document, not directly, but indirectly, when its material had been dispersed and incorporated into other evangelic books.

The question as to the authorship of this source is very much debated. Papias speaks of a work written by the Apostle Matthew in the following words: "Matthew wrote the Logia in Hebrew, and each interpreted as he was able," Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39. Much has been written about these words. It seems probable, on the whole, that they imply a tradition that St. Matthew compiled a collection of the Lord's sayings. Of course, Papias may or may not have supposed that our first Gospel was the work referred to. But if so he was probably wrong. For it is clear that our Gospel was not written in Hebrew. If we suppose that the Apostle Matthew composed a book of Sayings, and that this book when translated into Greek was the source from which the first evangelist drew his discourses, we explain at once why the name Matthew has been attached to the first Gospel. It was the one of our Gospels which represented most fully the apostle's work.

[1] See *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, ix.

II.

ST. MARK.

A. Early History.

The earliest reference to the Gospel is a statement made about it by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor, in the first half of the second century A.D. This has been preserved by the historian Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39), and is as follows: "This too the elder (*i.e.* an elder known to Papias) said, 'Mark being Peter's interpreter wrote with accuracy whatever he remembered, though not in order, of the things spoken or done by the Messiah. For[1] he did not hear the Lord; nor did he follow Him, but later, as I said, Peter, who adapted his teachings to circumstances without making an ordered scheme of the Lord's sayings. So that Mark was not to blame in writing in this way some things as he remembered them. For he was careful neither to leave out any of the things which he heard, nor to falsify anything

[1] Harnack seems to think that what follows is a statement of Papias, not of "the elder." *Date of the Acts and Syn. Gosp.*, p. 127.

amongst them.'" Here we have the following points:—(1) The Gospel was written by one Mark. (2) This Mark was Peter's interpreter, either, that is to say, his dragoman, *i.e.* one who interpreted his Aramaic into Greek, or more generally his exponent. (3) This Mark was not an immediate disciple of Christ. (4) Peter had drawn up no ordered scheme of Christ's sayings, but taught them as circumstances (of his hearers?) required. (5) Mark, therefore, could not be blamed if some things (sayings?) were not in order in his Gospel, for he had to rely upon his memory of Peter's teaching. (6) But (so far as his memory served him) he had omitted or wrongly recorded nothing.

The most striking point about this statement is its defence of the Gospel against criticism of it on the score of its arrangement, and also apparently against complaints of its omissions and inaccuracies.

We hear no more of the Gospel by name until the last quarter of the second century. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, states that "Mark, the interpreter of and disciple of Peter, has handed down in written form to us the things preached by Peter (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 1. 1). This is a very important statement in view of some recent discussion of it. The words immediately preceding those quoted are "after the departure (death) of these" (Peter and Paul); and Irenæus has generally been interpreted as stating that Mark wrote after Peter's death. But in the *JThS* vi. 563–569, Chapman argues that, read in the light of the whole context, the words "after their

death " do not date the writing of the Gospel, but its transmission. " It is evidently implied," he says, " that the preaching of Peter has been preserved to us *after* his death by being written down *before* his death." This argument has received the weighty support of Harnack (*Date of Acts*, p. 130), and will probably win its way to acceptance. In the light of it, Irenæus has nothing to add about Mark to the statement of Papias. He only knows that Mark was Peter's disciple and interpreter, and that his Gospel is based on Peter's preaching.

About the same time, Tertullian at Carthage has a similar tradition about the second Gospel: " What Mark published may be described as Petrine, for Mark was Peter's interpreter " (*Adv. Marc.* 4. 5).

The Muratorian Canon, a list of the books of the New Testament drawn up at Rome about 170–200 A.D., begins with the end of a sentence which no doubt refers to the second Gospel: " at some things he (Mark) was present, and so he recorded them." Lastly, Clement of Alexandria, *c.* 150–212 A.D., quoted in Eus. *H. E.* vi. 14, tells us that " as Peter had publicly preached the word in Rome and proclaimed the Gospel by the Spirit, many who were there besought Mark, as one who had followed him a long time and remembered his sayings, to draw up a narrative of them. And that he composed the Gospel, and gave it to those who asked for it. Peter, when he learned this,[1] did not directly forbid nor promote it."

[1] *i.e.* the pressure put on Mark to write.

This witness of Clement makes one addition to the earlier statements of Irenæus and Papias. It seems to place the composition of the Gospel at Rome. Whether this is a necessary inference will be discussed later. Apart from this, its evidence is much the same as that of Irenæus and Papias: (*a*) it represents the author as a disciple of Peter, (*b*) it describes his Gospel as based on Peter's preaching. In the last clause there seems to be an echo of the note of criticism of the Gospel which is heard in Papias' words. The latter urges that Mark must not be blamed for lack of order in his Gospel. This was to be imputed to St. Peter's method of preaching. Clement seems to be admitting some deficiencies in the Gospels when he carefully dissociates St. Peter from any share in its composition.

If, now, we summarise the second-century tradition about the Gospel, it seems to amount to this, that the author Mark was Peter's interpreter. This may, and probably does mean that the background of the Gospel was St. Peter's Aramaic preaching. If so, our Greek Gospel will be largely of the nature of a translation.

B. The Author.

The author Mark can hardly have been any other than the John Mark mentioned in the New Testament. We hear of him that his mother had a house at Jerusalem (Ac. xii. 12), to which St. Peter went on his escape from prison. The fact that "many were

gathered together there" about the period of the Passover (Ac. xii. 4) has led to the suggestion that Mary's house was the house in which the Lord's Supper had been instituted, and that the many who were gathered had come together to commemorate that institution in the house of its origin. If that were so, the further suggestion that the young man of Mk. xiv. 51 was Mark himself, who had followed the Lord and His disciples when they left his mother's house late in the evening, becomes very plausible. This would also explain the statement of the Muratorian Canon given above. See Zahn, *Introduction*, ii. 493. When Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch they took John Mark with them, Ac. xii. 25, and he accompanied them on their first missionary journey as far as Perga (Ac. xiii. 5, 13). His withdrawal seems to have greatly displeased St. Paul, who refused in consequence to allow him to join his second missionary expedition (Ac. xv. 37). Barnabas, Mark's uncle (Col. iv. 10), was more favourable to him, and, disagreeing with St. Paul on the matter, took Mark to Cyprus (Ac. xv. 39). This must have been about the year 47 A.D. For some twelve years we lose sight of John Mark. Then he reappears as a helper of St. Paul. The latter, writing from Rome, speaks of Mark as with him at Rome and likely to visit Colossæ (Col. iv. 10, Philem. 23). The only other references to him in the New Testament are in the First Epistle of Peter, where St. Peter mentions "Mark my son" as with him at Rome (= Babylon) (1 Pet. v. 13), and in 2 Ti. iv. 11, where St. Paul from

Rome bids Timothy bring Mark with him. Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 16) was acquainted with a tradition that Mark had founded churches in Alexandria; and Jerome (5th cent.) repeats the statement. Eusebius[1] says that he was succeeded at Alexandria by one Annianus in the eighth year of Nero, *i.e.* 61–62 A.D.; and Jerome seems to place his death in this year.

One other early tradition about him should be noted. Hippolytus[2] (d. *c.* 236 A.D.) describes him as finger-curtailed, κολοβοδάκτυλος. The meaning of the epithet is obscure. It was interpreted as meaning that Mark had mutilated his hand to disqualify himself for the priesthood (Preface to the *Vulgate of the Gospel*), or that his fingers were congenitally short (Codex Toletanus). Some modern writers have supposed it to refer to the incompleteness of his Gospel.

C. Date.

The book is usually assigned to the period 65–70 A.D. The two main grounds for this are: (1) a statement of Clement of Alexandria (Eus. *H. E.* vi. 14) that the Gospel was written after Peter had preached at Rome, and (2) the statement of Irenæus mentioned above, p. 8. Arguments for a date near to the fall of Jerusalem in the year 70 A.D. are of a very precarious nature. Harnack believes that the Acts of the Apostles was written at the end of St. Paul's two years of imprisonment at Rome. This would

[1] *H.E.* ii. 24.
[2] *Philos.* vii. 30.

throw back the third Gospel to a somewhat earlier date, and the second Gospel, which is one of the sources of the third, earlier still. A very suitable date would be about the year 44 A.D., when St. Peter, who had been prominent as a leader of the Church at Jerusalem, was obliged to leave that city, Ac. xii. 17. We do not hear of him there again until the Council, some five years later. During this period the second Gospel may well have been written to compensate in some measure for the absence of the apostle. If written at Jerusalem, the Gospel would probably have been composed in Aramaic; and there is much in the style and language to make this probable. It may have been translated into Greek by the evangelist himself. For St. Mark did not long remain in Jerusalem after St. Peter's departure. He was drawn into the circle of St. Paul, and went with him to Antioch, which was becoming the headquarters of the party who were planning missions to the Gentiles. There St. Mark may have put his Gospel into its present Greek form, and there it may have been read by the author of the first Gospel, and incorporated by him into his book, *c.* 50 A.D. A few years later another Gospel writer, St. Luke, also made the second Gospel the basis of a Gospel book, possibly when St. Paul was in prison at Cæsarea, *c.* 56–58 A.D. It is, of course, possible that the second Gospel was in some measure republished at Rome a few years later, at the time of or after St. Peter's residence there; and this may account for the tradition of Clement referred to above. 2 Ti. iv. 11

is evidence for the presence of St. Mark in Rome in the early sixties.

The date usually assigned to the Gospel is 65–70, on the evidence of Clement. Others prefer a date soon after the fall of Jerusalem, on supposed internal evidence which is of a very precarious nature.[1]

D. Analysis.

(*a*) i. 1–14. Preparation for the Messiah's preaching. His coming was heralded by the Baptist; at His baptism He was proclaimed to be the Son of God; and He was prepared for His work by a period of retirement and fasting.

(*b*) i. 14–vii. 23. Work and teaching in Galilee.

(*c*) vii. 24–ix. 50. Work outside Galilee.

(*d*) Ch. x. A Journey to Jerusalem.

(*e*) xi. 1–xvi. 8. The last days of the Messiah's life.

Here the Gospel ends. It has been urged that such an abrupt ending is impossible, and that the author must have added an ending which has been lost, or that he was prevented by death from completing his work. Some have thought that the first and second evangelists had before them a copy of the Gospel with the original conclusion. But the earliest MSS and the Sinaitic Syriac version end at ver. 8, and it is not likely that they should have been based upon a mutilated copy. If the Gospel was written at an early date, the conclusion with the narrative of the empty tomb is not unnatural. All that hap-

[1] See Moffatt, *Introduction to New Testament*, p. 212.

pened afterwards belonged to the history of the Church, and would have been known to every Christian disciple. Vv. 8–16, which are printed in our English Bibles, are found in most Manuscripts and Versions. They seem to have been added to the Gospel in the second century by some one who thought the ending of the Gospel at ver. 8 too abrupt. An alternative ending, found in four uncial manuscripts and a few other authorities, is as follows: "And they reported all things that had been commanded concisely to the circle of Peter. And after these things Jesus Himself appeared to them. And from the east even to the west He sent forth through them the holy and incorruptible message of eternal salvation."

E. Sources.

Many attempts have been made to show that the Second Gospel can be analysed into two or more different sources.

e.g. Wendling finds in it three stages. M^1, an early Aramaic source; M^2, a Greek translation of M^1, with additions; M^3, a final editor. On the artificiality of this analysis, see Williams, in *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, xiii.

Bacon[1] discriminates three sources and an editor. The sources are: (*a*) Petrine tradition, (*b*) Q, the discourse source used also in the first and third Gospels, (*c*) X, a third otherwise unknown source.

These and other attempts at analysis rest too much

[1] *Beginnings of Gospel Story.*

on *a priori* subjective conceptions as to the nature of the Lord's Person and the character of His teaching. If, for example, the critic believes that He could not have used the title "Son of Man," or have predicted His death, passages which contain the title or such predictions are on that ground assigned to a secondary or later stage in the growth of the Gospel.

The first starting-point in the question of sources must be the tradition of Petrine dependence. The greater part of the events in Christ's Galilean ministry may safely be ascribed to St. Peter's teaching by all who see no force at all in the argument that St. Peter could not have borne witness to historical narratives of miraculous events. Much of the narrative of the Lord's last week in Jerusalem may also have been derived from St. Peter, though here John Mark, who dwelt in Jerusalem, may rely to some extent upon his own experience.

But a question as to St. Mark's use of a second source is raised by considerations of the discourse material in his Gospel.

Of course, if such a collection of sayings as Q (see above, p. 4) were in existence when St. Mark wrote, it is not unlikely that he may have borrowed from it some of his discourse material.

Moreover, the questions can be put in another way. It seems probable that Q contained sayings and discourses which are also found in the second Gospel.

e.g. Harnack places in Q, Mt. xii. 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 43–45=Lk. x. 14, 17, 19, 20, 23–26. Now in Mt. and Lk. these sayings are found combined with Mk.

iii. 23–27. Of course, we might suppose that the first and third Gospels have dovetailed together Mk. and Q. But when it is found that in the verses common to all three Mt. and Lk. sometimes agree in phraseology against Mk., the question is at once raised whether Mt. and Lk. did not have before them the section of Mk. and also a parallel section in Q in a longer form, containing the verses common to Mt. and Lk. but not in Mk. If that were so, it would be possible to think that the verses in Mk. had been borrowed from Q. In these and in other cases that could be adduced certainty is impossible, because the facts to be explained admit of many possible explanations. The agreements between Mt. and Lk. against Mk. may be due to dependence of Lk. upon Mt., or to assimilation in transmission of one of these Gospels to the other, or to the fact that our Mk. has been slightly modified since they used it, or to all these and other causes combined. On these grounds all that can be said is that the discourse document Q, supposing that it was composed prior to Mark, which is quite possible, may have been used by him, but that the evidence is inconclusive. It is perhaps more probable that the discourses in Mk. represent a selection of Christ's utterances as handed down by St. Peter in the early years of the Church's life at Jerusalem. About the same period another writer (St. Matthew ?) was composing a book of sayings of Christ (Q), and would naturally rely upon this Petrine tradition of the Lord's sayings. So that Mark and Q would be two recensions

of this tradition, the one longer and the other shorter.

F. Characteristics.

1. Duplication, iteration, and redundancy of expression. Examples : i. 32, "At even when the sun did set" ; ii. 25, "had need, and was hungered" ; vi. 35, "the day was far spent—the day is far spent" ; viii. 17, "do ye not perceive, neither understand" ; xiii. 20, "the elect—whom he elected." Other examples may be found in *St. Matthew* (*Int. Crit. Com.* p. xxiv.).

A second form of redundancy is the repetition of the same idea in two forms ; *e.g.* ii. 27, "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath."

A third is the accumulation of negatives ; *e.g.* ix. 8, "they saw no longer no one."

A fourth is the repetition of a preposition first in a compound verb, and then independently *e.g.* ; i. 16, "passing by by."

2. The present tense used in narratives. This occurs about a hundred and fifty-one times. See Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 144.

3. The imperfect tense is much more common than in Mt. and Lk.

4. The participle with the verb "to be" is common.

5. Common also are two or more participles before a main verb. The most striking case is v. 25, "A

woman having an issue of blood twelve years, and having suffered—and having spent—being in nowise bettered—having heard—having come—touched."

6. There are a good many harshly constructed sentences; *e.g.* vi. 8, 9, "that they should take nothing—but being shod (accus.)—and not to clothe themselves."

7. There are a good many cases of sentences without any connecting particle (asyndeton); *e.g.* x. 27, 28, 29.

8. Forcible or rare words avoided in the other two Gospels; *e.g.* i. 12, "casts out" (of Jesus); i. 10, "rent" (of the heavens).

9. Latin words:

ii. 4, "bed" (=κράββατος); v. 9, "Legion"; xii. 42, "farthing" (κοδράντης); vii. 4, "pot" (ξέστης); xii. 15, "penny" (δηνάριον); vi. 27, "soldier of his guard" (σπεκουλάτωρ); xv. 39, "centurion."

10. Aramaic words and phrases:

iii. 17, Boanerges; v. 41, Talitha cumi; vii. 34, Ephphatha; vii. 11, Corban; xiv. 36, Abba; xi. 10, Hosanna; and the cry from the Cross, xv. 34. The phrases "Sons of the bride-chamber," ii. 19, and "Sons of men," iii. 28, are translations of Aramaic phrases.

11. Diminutives: *e.g.* "daughter (θυγάτριον), v. 23; "damsel (κοράσιον), v. 41; "child" (παιδίον), v. 39; "dog" (κυνάριον), vii. 27; "boat" (πλοιάριον), iii. 9; "fish" (ἰχθύδια), viii. 7.

12. "And forthwith," "much," "again," "that," after verbs of saying.

13. In his representations of Christ's person, St. Mark is contrasted with the first and second Gospels by his greater emphasis upon the human nature of the Lord.

The following may be noted:

iii. 5. "looking round about him with anger, being grieved."
i. 41. "being angry" (ὀργισθείς D).
i. 43. "being angry" (ἐμβριμησάμενος).
vi. 6. "he marvelled."
viii. 12. "groaning in spirit."
x. 14. "he was vexed."
x. 21. "he loved him."
xiv. 33. "he began to be greatly amazed, and sore troubled."

He does not shrink from using phrases which express inability on the part of Christ to do anything, or desire to do something which was not fulfilled:

i. 45. "So that he could no longer enter."
vi. 5. "He could not do there any miracle."
vi. 48. "He wished to pass by them."
vii. 24. "He wished no one to know it, but could not be hid."
ix. 30. "And he did not wish that any should know it."

In the same way St. Mark places in the mouth of Christ questions which would seem to imply a desire for information:

v. 30. " Who touched my clothes ? "
v. 9. " What is thy name ? "
vi. 38. " How many loaves have ye ? "
viii. 23. " Dost thou see anything ? "
ix. 16. " Why do ye dispute with them ? "
ix. 21. " How long is it since this happened to him ? "
ix. 33. " What were you discussing on the way ? "

Once he places in Christ's mouth a direct assertion of lack of knowledge, xiii. 32. So, too, he describes the Lord as coming to a fig tree to see if He could find figs and finding only leaves, " for it was not the season of figs," xi. 13. He represents others as saying of Christ that He was beside Himself, iii. 21, and as describing Him as " the Carpenter," vi. 3. Once he places in the Lord's mouth an apparent denial of the title " good " as being only applicable to God, x. 18.

All this represents a primitive, artless way of speaking of Christ, without thought of the inferences that might wrongly be drawn from the words, which reminds us of the very primitive Christology of the early chapters of the Acts, especially in St. Peter's speeches. Compare, *e.g.*, such phrases as " Jesus of Nazareth," Ac. ii. 22, vi. 14 ; " a man approved by God," ii. 22 ; " his servant Jesus," iii. 13, 25 ; " the holy and righteous One," iii. 14.

14. Common also is the emphasis on the multitude attracted by Christ's ministry, i. 33, 45, ii. 2, iii. 9, 20, iv. 1, vi. 31.

15. Characteristic also is the candour in dealing with the weaknesses of the apostles and their inability to understand Christ's teaching; cf. iv. 13, vi. 52, vii. 18, viii. 17, 18, 21, 33, ix. 6, 10, 18, 28, 29, 32, 33, x. 14, 35–45, xiv. 40–50.

III.

ST. MATTHEW.

A. Analysis.

i.–ii. Birth and Infancy of the Messiah.

(*a*) iii. 1–iv. 11. Preparation for His ministry (=Mk. i. 1–13).

(*b*) iv. 12–xv. 20. Work and teaching in Galilee (=Mk. i. 14–vii. 23).

(*c*) xv. 21–xviii. 35. Work outside Galilee (=Mk. vii. 24–ix. 50).

(*d*) xix. 1–xx. 34. A Journey to Jerusalem (=Mk. x.).

(*e*) xxi.–xxviii. Last days of the Messiah's life (=Mk. xi.–xvi. 8).

B. Sources.

(*a*) The Second Gospel.[1]

1. Omissions.

[1] For full illustrations of Matthew's treatment of the Second Gospel, see the Introduction to *St. Matthew*, in the *International Critical Commentary*.

Mk. i. 23–28, 35–39, iv. 26–29, vii. 32–37, viii. 22–26, ix. 38–40, xii. 41–44.

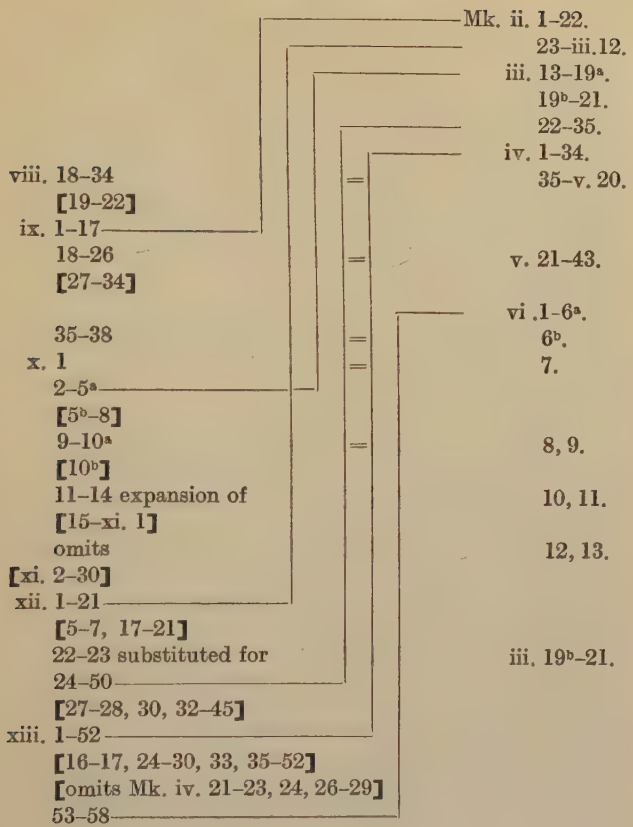
2. Alteration in Order of Sections.

This occurs in Mt. iii.–xiii. 58. The following table shows the variation.

After xiii. 58, Matthew follows Mark's order without deviation.

The passages in square brackets are not found in Mk.

iii. 1–12	=	Mk. i. 1–8.
[7–10. 12]		
13–17	=	9–11.
[14–15]		
iv. 1–11	=	12, 13.
[3–11]		
12–17	=	14, 15.
[13–16]		
18–22	=	16–20.
23–25 substituted for		21.
[v. 1–vii. 27]		
vii. 28–29	=	22.
omits		23–28.
viii. 1–4		
[5–13]		
14–15	=	29–31.
16–17	=	32–34.
omits		35–39.
		40–45.



3. Abbreviations.

(1) Omissions of small details; *e.g.* Mk. i. 13, "with the wild beasts."

(2) Omissions of sayings from a discourse. Fre-

quently these have already been inserted from another source earlier in the Gospel.

(3) Omissions of redundant expressions; *e.g.* from Mk. i. 32, "when the sun did set" after "and at even."

4. Amplification of discourses; *e.g.* the Charge to the Twelve, which in Mk. vi. 8–11 occupies four verses, is expanded in Mt. x. into a long chapter.

5. Linguistic changes.

(1) Avoidance of Mark's characteristic expressions, "and immediately," "again," "much," "that," after verbs of "saying."

(2) Avoidance of Mark's historic presents.

(3) Substitution of aorists for Mark's imperfects.

(4) Avoidance of Mark's use of the verb "began" with an infinitive.

(5) Avoidance of Mark's use of a compound verb followed by the preposition which forms part of the compound verb.

(6) Correction of Mark's harsh constructions.

6. Changes due to reverence for the person of Christ; *e.g.* most of the expressions mentioned on p. 20 are altered in Mt.

7. Changes due to respect for the apostles; *e.g.* the omission of Mk. iv. 13, viii. 17.

8. Changes due to desire for accuracy; *e.g.* "tetrarch," Mt. xiv. 1, for "king," Mk. vi. 14.

(*b*) In addition to the second Gospel, Matthew no doubt made use of other sources. The fact that there

is much material found both in Mt. and Lk. suggests at least one other source. The method of reconstructing this generally adopted is to place in it most of such material common to the two Gospels, but not in Mk. This material is the following:

MATTER COMMON TO MATTHEW AND LUKE ALONE.

Mt. iii. 7–10, 12.		= Lk. iii.	7–9, 17.
iv. 2–11.		iv.	2–13.
v. 1–12.	Sermon.	vi.	17, 20–23.
39[b], 40, 42.	,,		29, 30.
42[b].	,,		34, 35.
44.	,,		27[a], 28[b].
45.	,,		35*b*.
46.	,,		32.
47.	,,		33.
48.	,,		36.
vii. 1.	,,		37[a].
2.	,,		38[b].
3–5.	,,		41, 42.
12.	,,		31.
16.	,,		44.
18.	,,		43.
21.	,,		46 ?
24–27.	,,		47–49.
v. 13.	,,	xiv.	34.
15.	,,	xi.	33.
18.	,,	xvi.	17.
25, 26.	,,	xii.	57–59.
32.	,,	xvi.	18.
vi. 8.	,,	xii.	30.
9–13.	,,	xi.	1–4.
19–21.	,,	xii.	33, 34.
22, 23.	,,	xi.	34, 35.
24.	,,	xvi.	13.
25–34.	,,	xii.	22–31.

Mt. vii. 7–11.	Sermon.	Lk. xi. 9–13.
13, 14.	,,	xiii. 24.
22, 23.	,,	25–27.
viii. 11–12 ?	East and West.	28–30 ?
5–13.	Centurion.	vii. 1–10.
19–22.	Two aspirants.	ix. 57–60.
ix. 32–34 ?	Beelzebub.	xi. 14 ?
37, 38.	Labourers few.	x. 2.
10^{b}.	Charge to the Twelve.	7.
12, 13.	,,	5, 6.
15.	,,	12.
16^{a}.	,,	3.
24, 25.	,,	vi. 40.
26–33.	,,	xii. 2–9.
34–36.	,,	51–53.
37, 38.	,,	xiv. 26, 27.
39.	,,	xvii. 33.
xi. 2, 3.	The Baptist.	vii. 18–21.
4–11.	,,	22–28.
12, 13.	,,	xv. 16.
16–19.	,,	vii. 31–35.
$21–23^{a}$.	,,	x. 13–15.
24.	,,	12.
25–27.	,,	21, 22.
xii. 11.	Lost sheep.	xiv. 5.
22, 23.	Beelzebub.	xi. 14.
27, 28.	,,	19, 20.
30.	,,	23.
32.	,,	xii. 10.
33–35.	,,	vi. 43–45.
38.	Sign.	xi. 16.
39, 40.	,,	29, 30.
41.	,,	32.
42.	,,	31.
43–45.	,,	24–26.
xiii. 16, 17.	Blessed are your eyes.	x. 23, 24.
33.	Leaven.	xiii. 20, 21.

Mt. xv. 14.	Blind leading blind.	=Lk. vi. 39.
xvi. 1–3.		xii. 54–56 ?
xvii. 20 ?	Grain of mustard seed.	xvii. 5 ?
xviii. 12–14.	Lost sheep.	xv. 4–7.
7.	Offences.	xvii. 1.
15.	Forgiveness.	3.
21, 22.	,,	4.
xix. 30.	First last.	xiii. 30.
xxi. 32 ?		vii. 29, 30 ?
44 ?		xx. 18 ?
xxiii. 4.	Denunciation of Pharisees	xi. 46[b].
12.	,,	xiv. 11, xviii. 14.
13.	,,	xi. 52.
23.	,,	42.
25, 26.	,,	39–41.
27, 28.	,,	44.
29–31.	,,	xi. 47, 48.
34–36.	,,	49–51.
37–39.	,,	xiii. 34, 35.
xxiv. 23, 26–28.	End of world.	xvii. 23, 24, 37.
37–39.	,,	26, 27, 30.
40, 41.	,,	34, 35.
43–51.	,,	xii. 39–46.
xxv. 14–30.	Talents.	xix. 11–28.

The present writer, however, believes that this is a very unsatisfactory method of reconstructing Q. For if to this common material there be added most of the sayings peculiar to Matthew, the result is a collection of sayings characterised by (*a*) a very striking Jewish phraseology, (*b*) emphasis on the permanence of the Mosaic Law, (*c*) emphasis on the eschatological element in Christ's teaching, (*d*) anti-Pharisaism.[1]

[1] See *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, Essay ix., where Q is reconstructed and its features discussed.

(*c*) The matter peculiar to Mt. is the following :

MATTER FOUND ONLY IN MATTHEW.

i., ii.		
iii.	14, 15.	An insertion in Mark's narrative.
iv.	13–16.	Quotation.
	23–25.	Description of Christ's ministry.
v.	4.	Sermon on the Mount.
	5.	,, ,,
	7.	,, ,,
	8.	,, ,,
	9.	,, ,,
	10.	,, ,,
	13[a]	,, ,,
	14.	,, ,,
	16.	,, ,,
	17.	,, ,,
	19, 20.	,, ,,
	21–24.	,, ,,
	27, 28.	,, ,,
	31.	,, ,,
	33–37.	,, ,,
	38, 39[a].	,, ,,
	41.	,, ,,
	43.	,, ,,
vi.	1–7, 10[b], 13[b].	,, ,,
	16–18.	,, ,,
	34.	,, ,,
vii.	6, 12[b].	,, ,,
	15.	,, ,,
	19, 20, 22.	,, ,,
viii.	17.	Quotation.
ix.	13[a].	An insertion in Mark's narrative.
	27–31.	Healing of two blind men.
	32–34.	cf. Lk. xi. 14. Healing of a deaf demoniac.
	35, 36.	A description of Christ's ministry.

x.	5ᵇ–8.	Charge to the Twelve.
	10ᵇ.	,, ,,
	16ᵇ.	,, ,,
	23.	,, ,,
	25ᵇ, 36.	,, ,,
	41.	,, ,,
xi.	1.	Editorial.
	14.	Elias.
	28–30.	Come unto me.
xii.	5–7.	An insertion in Mark's narrative.
	11, 12ᵃ.	,, ,,
	17–21.	Quotation.
	22, 23.	cf. Lk. xi. 14. Healing of a blind demoniac.
	36, 37.	Every idle word.
xiii.	14, 15.	Quotation.
	24–30.	The Tares.
	33.	The Leaven.
	35.	Quotation.
	36–43.	Explanation of the Tares.
	44.	The Hid Treasure.
	45, 46.	The Precious Pearl.
	47–50.	The Draw net.
	51, 52.	Every scribe instructed.
	53.	Editorial.
xiv.	28–31.	St. Peter on the water. An insertion in Mark's narrative.
xv.	12, 13.	An insertion in Mark's narrative.
	23, 24.	,, ,,
	29–31.	Substituted for Mk. vii. 31 ff.
xvi.	2, 3.	An insertion in Mark's narrative.
	17–19.	St. Peter and the keys. An insertion in Mark's narrative.
xvii.	20.	An insertion in Mark's narrative.
	24–27.	The Stater in the fish's mouth.
xviii.	4.	As a little child.
	10.	An insertion in Mark's narrative.

xviii.	14.	One of these little ones.
	16–20.	The Church.
	23–35.	The Two Debtors.
xix.	1[a].	Editorial.
	10–12.	Eunuchs.
	28.	An insertion in Mark's narrative.
xx.	1–16.	The Labourers in the Vineyard.
xxi.	10, 11.	An insertion in Mark's narrative.
	14.	,, ,,
	15[b], 16.	,, ,,
	28–32.	The Two Sons.
xxii.	1–14.	The Marriage Feast.
xxiii.	1–3.	Denunciation of Pharisees.
	5.	,, ,,
	7[b]—11.	,, ,,
	15–22.	,, ,,
	24.	,, ,,
	28.	,, ,,
	32, 33.	,, ,,
xxiv.	10–12.	False prophets.
	30[a].	Sign of the Son of Man.
xxv.	1–13.	The Ten Virgins.
	14–30.	cf. Lk. xix. 11–28.
	31–46.	The Sheep and the Goats.
xxvi.	1.	Editorial.
	52–54.	An insertion in Mark's narrative.
xxvii.	3–10.	Judas and the blood money.
	19.	Pilate's wife.
	24, 25.	Pilate washes his hands.
	51[a]–53.	The resurrection of the dead Saints.
	62–66.	The sealing of the Tomb.
xxviii.	9, 10.	Quotation.
	11–15.	The bribing of the guard.
	16–20.	Christ's last words.

If, as is suggested above, most of the sayings in the above list be assigned to Q, there remain (*a*) a series

of quotations, i. 22–23, ii. 5–6, 15, 17–18, 23, iv. 14–16, viii. 17, xii. 17–21, xiii. 35, xxi. 4–5, xxvii. 9: these may have come from a written collection of Old Testament passages which were interpreted by the early Church as prophetic of incidents in the life of Christ; (*b*) a number of narrative sections. Of these, i. 18–25, ii. 1–12, 13–23, xiv. 28–31, xvii. 24–27, xxi. 10–11, xxvii. 3–10, 19, 24–25, 51–53, 62–66, xxviii. 11–15, all look like Palestinian traditions which may very well have been gathered by the editor of the Gospel from oral tradition.

C. Characteristics.[1]

1. Emphasis upon Christ as (*a*) the King Messiah of the Chosen People: *e.g.* ii. 2, xxi. 5.

(*b*) One in whom all the anticipations of the Jewish people found their fulfilment: *e.g.* i. 22, ii. 5, 15, 17, 23, iv. 14, viii. 17, xii. 17, xiii. 34–35, xxi. 4, xxvi. 24, 31, 54, 56, xxvii. 9.

2. Emphasis upon the near approach of the kingdom: *e.g.* x. 23, xvi. 28, xix. 28, xxiv. 29, 34, xxv. 13.

3. Passages which seem to limit Christ's mission to the Jewish people: x. 5, 6, 23.

4. Emphasis upon the permanence of the Mosaic Law: *e.g.* v. 17–20, xviii. 16, xix. 9, xxiv. 20.

[1] For illustration of these characteristic features, see *St. Matthew* (*Int. Crit. Comm.*), 3rd ed., pp. lxvi–lxxix; "Matthew," in *Dict. of Christ and Gospels*; "The Alleged Catholicism of the First Gospel" (*Exp. Times*, July 1910); *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 274–286.

5. The emphasis upon "righteousness" as an essential for Christians: iii. 15, v. 6, 10, 20, vi. 1, 33. Cf. x. 41, xiii, 43, 49, xxv. 37, 46.

6. The primitive character of the organisation of the Christian Church: "Apostles," x. 2; "prophets and wise men," xxiii. 34, cf. Ac. xiii. 1, "prophets and teachers"; "scribes," xiii. 52.

7. Characteristic phrases: "then" as a connecting link; "multitudes" in the plural. Mk. has the singular, "kingdom of heaven." [1]

8. Anti-Pharisaism.

9. Jewish character of much of the phraseology: especially, *e.g.*, "kingdom of heaven," "Father which is in the heaven," "end of the age."

10. The prominence assigned to St. Peter: *e.g.* x. 2, xiv. 28, xvi. 16, xv. 15.

11. Numerical arrangement: *e.g.* three divisions in the genealogy, three temptations, three illustrations of "righteousness," vi. 1–18; three parables of sowing, xiii. 1–32; three miracles of healing, viii. 1–15.

The reader may remember three or four striking passages which will seem to him to conflict with the representation of the Gospel just given as a Gospel intended for Jewish Christians. Such are viii. 11, 12. The editor probably understood this to refer to proselytes, or to Jews of the Dispersion. In xxi. 43 the "nation" to which the kingdom is to be given is probably the Jewish Christian community regarded as inheriting the privileges of the unbelieving Jewish

[1] See Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 25–27.

nation. xxiv. 14 does not speak of a wholesale conversion of Gentiles, but of a preaching of the gospel of the kingdom amongst them for a testimony. xxviii. 19 need not have been understood by the editor in any Pauline sense. It simply says "make disciples of all nations," *i.e.* "make them members of the Messianic Church."[1] The two passages in which the word "church" occurs are often supposed to be significant clues to a comparatively later date of the Gospel. But the inference is quite needless. In xvi. 16–19 the vocabulary is so essentially Jewish that, as Dr. Sanday[2] says, "it must come from a quarter in which the Jewish origin and relations of Christianity were strongly marked, *i.e.* from a source near to the fountainhead." So far as the word "church" goes, it is difficult to see how the very first writer who wished to express in Greek whatever Aramaic expression the Lord had used could have avoided this word. It occurs over a hundred times in the LXX, and was instinctively turned to by St. Paul.[3]

D. Authorship.

The second-century tradition is unanimous to the effect that the first Gospel was written in Hebrew (Aramaic ?) by the Apostle Matthew. So Papias,

[1] On these passages, see "The Alleged Catholicism of the First Gospel," *Expository Times*, July 1910.

[2] *Report of Royal Commission on Divorce*, iii. 241. Cf. *St. Matthew* (*Int. Crit. Comm.*), on xvi. 17–19, p. 180.

[3] *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 279 f.

cited in Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39; Irenæus, iii. 1. 1; Origen, cited in Eus. *H. E.* vi. 25.

The words of Papias are as follows: "Matthew compiled in the Hebrew dialect, the Logia, and each interpreted them as he was able." Papias may or may not have understood the Logia compiled by the Apostle to be our first Gospel. In either case it seems clear that the Gospel cannot be the work of the Apostle. It is not a translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic work. Its contents are not very naturally described as Logia. It was written by some one who wrote in Greek and used Greek sources. On the other hand, the evidence of Papias and the evidence of the Gospel itself is adequately accounted for if the Discourse Source used by the editor was the work of the Apostle. If that were the case, the transference of the name Matthew from the Source to the Gospel which had most completely incorporated the Source, is readily explained.

Who the actual writer of our Gospel was we cannot say. The internal evidence of the Gospel suggests a Hellenistic (*i.e.* Greek-speaking Jew) Christian, one, that is to say, who being a Jew by race had lived outside Palestine, and had joined the primitive Christian Society, perhaps at Antioch, in the belief that Jesus of Nazareth was the long-promised Jewish Messiah. When the strife about the admission of Gentiles into the Church broke out at Antioch, he wrote his Gospel to show that the Messiah had never in word or act suggested the abrogation of the Mosaic Law, or the admission of Gentiles to the Kingdom,

except, of course, on the same terms by which they had always been admitted to the privileges of the Jewish covenant.

E. Date.

The Gospel is usually assigned to a date after the fall of Jerusalem. But the characteristics just noted seem to make an earlier date imperative.

For, if we place ourselves at Antioch about the year 50 A.D., we find in the Jewish-Christian party there, who were fighting for the permanent validity of the Mosaic Law and the circumcision of Gentiles, just such a circle of primitive Christians as that presupposed by the first Gospel. The eschatological colouring of the book suits this same period, that of St. Paul's early eschatological teaching in the Epistles to the Thessalonians. Would the Gospel, if written at a later date, when the tendency of Christian doctrine (the later Epistles of St. Paul, St. Luke, the Fourth Gospel) was to spiritualise the eschatological teaching, have been received by the Church into public use? The fact that the *Revelation* was written towards the close of the century is no proof that a Gospel with a strong eschatological colouring could have been written about the same period. For it was one thing for the Church to receive an Apocalypse in which eschatological sayings were placed in the mouth of the ascended Lord. It would have been quite another thing to receive a Gospel in which unauthentic apocalyptic sayings were attributed to Him during the period of His earthly life.

The prominence assigned to St. Peter in the Gospel also suits the period about 50 A.D. ; for St. Peter, as we learn from the Acts, was the most striking figure in the first years of the Church's history.

And, lastly, the anti-Pharisaic attitude of the editor is natural in one who had lived through the early period of the Church's history, when the Church at Jerusalem was the mark of Pharisaic and Sadducean enmity.

IV.

ST. LUKE.

A. Analysis.

i.-ii. Birth and Infancy of the Messiah.

(*a*) iii. i.–iv. 13. Preparation for His ministry.

(*b*) iv. 14–ix. 50. Work and teaching in Galilee (= Mk. i. 14–ix. 50).

(*c*) ix. 51–xix. 28. A Journey to Jerusalem (= Mk. x.).

(*d*) xix. 29–xxiv. 53. Last days of the Messiah's life.

B. Sources.

(*a*) The Second Gospel.

1. Omissions. Lk. omits Mk. i. 16–20, iii. 19–30, iv. 26–29, vi. 1–6, 17–29, 45–viii. 26, ix. 10–13, 41–50, x. 1–12, 35–45, xi. 12–14, 20–25, xii. 28–34, xiii. 34–36, xiv. 3–9.

For Mk. i. 16–20, Luke has an alternative in v. 1–12, and for iii. 19–30 an alternative in xi. 14 ff. Mk. iv. 26–29 and 30–32 are omitted at Lk. viii. 18, because Luke proposes to insert xiii. 18–19 (mustard seed) and 20–21 (leaven) later in the Gospel. For Mk.

vi. 1–6, Luke has an alternative in iv. 16–30. Mk. vi. 45–viii. 26 are omitted purposely, for Luke betrays knowledge of this material by inserting "Bethsaida" at ix. 10. For Mk. xii. 28–34, Luke has an alternative in x. 25–27, for Mk. xiii. 33–36 an equivalent in xii. 35–38, and for Mk. xiv. 3–9 he has an alternative in vii. 36–40.

Some of the other omissions are probably due to the controversial nature of the section, or to its obscurity.

2. Abbreviations.

(1) Of small details: *e.g.* Mk. i. 13, "with the wild beasts."

(2) Redundant expressions: *e.g.* Mk. i. 32, "when it was even."

3. Linguistic changes.

(1) Avoidance of Mark's "and immediately," "again," "much," "that," after verbs of saying.

(2) Avoidance of Mark's historic presents.

(3) Substitution of common for uncommon words.[1]

4. Changes due to reverence for Christ's Person: *e.g.* many of the expressions given on p. 20 are omitted.

5. Changes due to respect for the Apostles: *e.g.* the omission of Mk. iv. 13, vi. 52, viii. 17, x. 35–45.

6. Changes due to desire for accuracy: *e.g.* the use of "lake" of the Sea of Galilee for Mark's "Sea"; "tetrarch" for "king," Mk. vi. 14.

[1] *e.g.* *τρήματος βελόνης*, "eye of a needle," xviii. 25, for Mark's *τρυμαλιᾶς ῥαφίδος*, x. 25; *ὑγιαίνοντες*, v. 31, for Mark's *ἰσχύοντες*, ii. 17.

(*b*) In addition to the second Gospel, St. Luke had other sources. One lies behind the material common to Mt. and Lk., but not in Mk.

MATTER COMMON TO LUKE AND MATTHEW.

Lk.			Mt.	
iii.	7–9, 17.	Baptist's preaching.	iii.	7–10, 12.
iv.	2–12.	Temptation.	iv.	1–11.
vi.	17, 20, 23.	Sermon.	v.	1–12.
	27–38.	„	v.	43, 44, 38–42, vii. 12.
				46, 47, 42[b], 45, 48, vii. 1, 2.
	39.	„	xv.	14.
	40.	„	x.	24, 25.
	41, 42.	„	vii.	3–5.
	43–45.	„		16–18.
				xii. 33–35.
	46.	„	vii.	21.
	47–49.	„		24–27.
vii.	1–10.	Centurion.	viii.	5–13.
	18–21.	John.	xi.	2, 3.
	22–28.	„		4–11.
	31–35.	„		16–19.
ix.	57–60.	Aspirants.	viii.	19–22.
x.	2.	Seventy.	ix.	37, 38.
	3.	„	x.	16.
	5–12.	„		11–13, 10[b], 7, 8, 14, 15.
	13–15.	„	xi.	21–23[a].
	21, 22.	„		25, 26, 27.
	23, 24.	„	xiii.	16, 17.
xi.	1–4.	Lord's Prayer.	vi.	9–13.
	9–13.	Prayer.	vii.	7–11.
	14.	Casting out of a devil.	ix.	32–34, xii. 22.
	16.	Sign.	xii.	38.
	19, 20.	„		27, 28.

Lk. xi.	23.	Sign.	Mt. xii.	30.
	24–26.	,,		43–45.
	29, 30.	,,		39, 40.
	31.	,,		42.
	32.	,,		41.
	33.	Light.	v.	15.
	34, 35.	,,	vi.	22, 23.
	39–41.	Cup and platter.	xxiii.	25, 26.
	42.	Tithes.		23.
	44.	Whited sepulchres.		27, 28.
	46.	Heavy burdens.		4.
	47, 48.	Slaying of prophets.		29–31.
	49–51.	,,		34–36.
	52.	Key of knowledge.		14.
xii.	2–9.	Leaven and discourse.	x.	26–31.
	22–31.	Thought for the morrow.	vi.	25–34.
	33, 34.	,,		19–21.
	39, 40.	The thief.	xxiv.	43, 44.
	42–46.	The faithful servant.		45–51.
	51–53.	Not peace.	x.	34–36.
	54–56 ?	Signs of times.	xvi.	1–3 ?
	57–59.	Reconciliation.	v.	25, 26.
xiii.	20, 21.	Leaven.	xiii.	33.
	24–30.	East and west.	vii.	13, 14.
				22, 23.
			viii.	11, 12.
	34, 35.	Jerusalem abandoned.	xxiii.	37–39.
xiv.	11.	Exalted humbled.		12.
	26, 27.	Giving up all.	x.	37, 38.
	34.	Salt.	v.	13.
xvi.	13.	God mammon.	vi.	24.
	16.	Law and prophets.	xi.	12, 13.
	17.	One title.	v.	18.
	18.	Divorce.		32.
xvii.	1.	Offences.	xviii.	7.
	3.	Forgiveness.		15.
	4.	,,		21, 22.

Lk. xvii. 5, 6 ?	Grain of mustard seed	Mt. xvii. 20.
23 ?	Behold here.	xxiv. 23.
24.	Lightning.	27.
26, 27.	Days of Noah.	37–39.
30.	,,	,,
33.	Loss and gain of life.	x. 39.
34, 35.	Two in one bed.	xxiv. 40, 41.
37.	Two grinding.	28.
xviii. 14.	Exalted humbled.	xxiii. 12.
xix. 11–28 ?	Pounds.	xxv. 14–30.

It will be noticed—

(*a*) That with the exception of iii. 7–17, vii. 1–10, almost all this material consists of sayings of Christ.

(*b*) This is inserted into Mark's Gospel in two masses:

(1) In Lk. vi. 20–viii. 4.

(2) In Lk. ix. 51–xviii. 14.

(*c*) Whereas Matthew has grouped this material into great discourses, Luke has broken it up into sayings on many different occasions.

But both Matthew and Luke have (1) a sermon on the Mount (Mt.), on plain (Lk.), which has a good many common sayings.

(2) A discourse about John with a good many common sayings.

Both have (3) substituted a longer discourse with many common sayings for Mk. iii. 19–30.

(4) Added a good many common sayings to Mk. xiii.

(*d*) It is commonly held that this matter common to Mark and Luke is drawn by them from a common source, Q.

It may, however, be questioned whether the great divergence in phraseology and arrangement do not

rather suggest that Matthew and Luke drew this material common to them both from different sources. Matthew, as we have seen, drew immediately from Q. Luke more probably found material from Q scattered in other sources. It is not impossible that the first Gospel was one of these, but in that case St. Luke seems to have made no systematic use of it.

(*c*) The matter peculiar to Lk. is the following:

PECULIAR TO LUKE.

i.	1–4.	Editorial.
	5–ii. 52.	
iii.	1–2ª.	Editorial.
	10.	,,
	11–14.	Baptist's preaching.
	7ª.	Editorial.
	15.	,,
	18–20.	,,
	23–38.	Genealogy.
iv.	13.	Editorial.
	16–30.	Substituted for Mk. vi. 1–6.
v.	1–11.	,, ,, i. 16–20.
	39.	New and old wine.
vi.	21ᵇ.	The Weepers.
	24–26.	Woes.
vii.	11–17.	Nain.
	29, 30.	Editorial.
	36–50.	Substituted for Mk. xiv. 3–9.
viii.	1–3.	Ministering women.
ix.	31, 32.	Transfiguration.
	51–56.	Samaritan village.
	61, 62.	Aspirant.
x.	1.	The Seventy.
	17–20.	,,
	25–29.	Substituted for Mk. xii. 28–34.

x.	30–37.	Good Samaritan.
	38–42.	Martha and Mary.
xi.	5–8.	Importunate friend.
	27, 28.	Blessed the womb.
	36.	The body full of light.
	37, 38.	Meal with a Pharisee.
	45.	A lawyer.
	53.	Pressed upon him.
xii.	13–21.	Rich fool.
	35–38.	Substituted for Mk. xiii. 33–36.
	41.	St. Peter.
	47–50.	Few and many stripes.
	54–56 ?	Signs of times.
xiii.	1–5.	Siloam.
	6–9.	Barren fig tree.
	10–17.	Crooked woman.
	31–33.	Herod.
xiv.	1–6.	Dropsical man.
	7–10.	Lowest place.
	12–14.	Guests.
	15–24.	Marriage feast.
	28–33.	Counting the cost.
xv.	1–7.	Lost sheep.
	8–10.	Lost money.
	11–32.	Prodigal son.
xvi.	1–12.	Unjust steward.
	14, 15.	Pharisees.
	19–31.	Rich man and Lazarus.
xvii.	7–10.	Unprofitable servants.
	11–19.	Ten lepers.
	20–22.	Kingdom within.
	25.	Christ must suffer.
	28, 29.	Lot.
	32.	Lot's wife.
xviii.	1–8.	Unjust judge.
	9–14.	Pharisee and Publican.
xix.	1–10.	Zacchæus.

xix.	11–28.	Pounds.
	39, 40.	Stones will cry out.
	41–44.	Lament over city.
xx.	18.	Stone.
xxi.	11ᵇ, 12.	Discourse about last things.
	22.	„ „
	23ᵇ, 24.	„ „
	25ᵇ, 26.	„ „
	28.	„ „
	34, 35.	„ „
	37, 38.	„ „
xxii.	15, 16.	With desire.
	19ᵇ, 20.	Eucharist.
	28–30.	I assign to you a kingdom.
	35–38.	Two swords.
	43, 44 ?	Agony.
	48, 49.	Two questions.
	51.	Healing of Malchus.
xxiii.	2.	Accusation before Pilate.
	4–12.	Herod.
	27–31.	Daughters of Jerusalem.
	39–42.	Penitent thief.
	46ᵇ.	Father, into Thy hands.
	48.	Return from cross.
xxiv.	13–35.	Emmaus.
	36–49.	Appearance.
	50–53.	Separation.

This may be classified as follows :

1. Editorial : *e.g.* i. 1–4, iii. 1–2, 19–20.

2. Miracles : vii. 11–17 (Nain), xiii. 10–17 (Bowed woman), xiv. 1–6 (Dropsical man), xvii. 11–19 (Ten Lepers).

3. Parables : x. 30–37 (Good Samaritan), xi. 5–8 (Friend at midnight), xiii. 6–9 (Fig tree), xii. 13–21 (Rich Fool), xiv. 15–24 (Great Feast), xv. 1–7 (Lost

Sheep), 8–10 (Lost piece of money), 11–32 (Prodigal Son), xvi. 1–12 (Unjust Steward), 19–31 (Rich Man and Lazarus), xviii. 1–8 (Unjust Judge), 9–14 (Pharisee and Publican), xix. 11–28 (Pounds if regarded as a different story from Matthew's Talents).

4. Many Sayings: *e.g.* xvii. 28, 29 (the days of Lot).

5. Many Incidents: *e.g.* x. 1 (the Mission of the Seventy), xix. 1–10 (Zacchæus), xxiii. 4–12 (Trial before Herod), xxiv. 13–35 (the walk to Emmaus).

6. The narratives of the Infancy: i. 5–ii. 52.

The fact that Luke substitutes sometimes for a narrative found in Mk. another similar narrative, suggests that he may have had a special written source for these which he valued highly. If so, it will be possible that much of the matter peculiar to him came from this source. To it might belong the parables. These are quite unlike Matthew's Parables of the Kingdom. They inculcate moral virtues or Christian duties.

From the same source may have come the following:

(*a*) Narratives with an interest in women: *e.g.* vii. 11–17, 36–50, viii. 1–3, x. 38–42, xi. 27, xiii. 10–17, xviii. 1–8, xxiii. 27–31.

(*b*) With an interest in Herod: xiii. 31–33, xxiii. 4–12.

(*c*) With an interest in outcasts: xix. 1–10, ix. 51–56, x. 30–37, xvii. 11–19, xxiii. 39–42.

(*d*) Such sayings as xii. 35–38, 47–50, xiv. 7–10, 12–14, 28–33, xvii. 7–10.

Of course, if such a special source lay before him he may have drawn from it many of the sayings

which he has in common with Matthew and which Matthew took from Q: *e.g.* the following may have come from this special source: Lk. vi. 20–49, ix. 57–60, xi. 1–4, 9–13, 22–34, xiv. 26, 27, xvi. 13, xvii. 1, 3, 4, 5.[1]

C. Characteristics.

1. As contrasted with Mk., which is a loosely connected book of reminiscences, Lk. is a finely conceived literary work.

As contrasted with Mt., which is of the nature of a theological thesis in narrative form, Lk. is a professed historical biography.

As contrasted with both Mt. and Mk., which were probably written for Church reading and circulation, Lk. was written for an individual.

2. It is unnecessary to suppose that Theophilus was a baptized Christian. The word translated "instructed," R.V., need not mean more than that Theophilus had received from St. Luke or some other a good deal of information about Christianity; cf. the use of the word in Ac. xxi. 21, 24.

Theophilus may have been a Roman (or Greek) official interested in what he had heard about the claims of Christ, and St. Luke may have hoped to win him to Christianity by presenting to him a history of Christian origins which would not prejudice him against Christianity, by over-emphasising the Jewish element in the Messiah's teaching, or by

[1] On Luke's special source, see Bartlet, in *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, xi.

representing him as one who spoke contemptuously of Gentiles (Mk. vii. 27).

3. Hence the emphasis on the universalism of the Gospel. At Christ's birth, peace is proclaimed to the whole world, ii. 14. He came to save all peoples, ii. 31. In His preaching all flesh were to see the salvation of God, iii. 6. His genealogy is carried back to Adam.

4. This universalism finds expression in another way. Not only was Christ's person of universal import, but His gospel particularly included women, despised races, the poor.

(*a*) Women. In addition to those mentioned in the other Gospels, St. Luke refers to Elizabeth, Hannah, the woman in Simon's house, vii. 37; Joanna and Susanna, viii. 3; the woman in the synagogue, xiii. 11; the widow at Nain, the daughter of Jerusalem, xxiii. 27; an unnamed woman, xi. 27; the importunate widow in the parable, xviii. 1.

(*b*) Despised races. Samaritans: ix. 51–56, x. 30–37, xvii. 11–19.

(*c*) The poor. There is great emphasis on the blessedness of poverty. Mt. and Mk. have the story of the rich young man, and the widow's mite, and some sayings about riches as a hindrance to admission to the kingdom. But Lk. alone has "woe unto you rich," vi. 24; the saying in xii. 33; the parable, xii. 13–21; the sayings, xiv. 12–14; the parable of the Unjust Steward, xvi. 1–13; and of the Rich Man and Lazarus, xvi. 19–31; and the story of Zacchæus, xix. 2–10.

5. The prominence given to praise and thanksgiving: *e.g.* the Canticles in the first two chapters, and the phrases "praise God" (*αἰνεῖν*), "glorify God" (*δοξάζειν*), "give praise to God" (*αἶνον διδόναι*), "bless God" (*εὐλογεῖν*).

6. The prominence given to prayer: *e.g.* in the parables, xi. 5–13, xviii. 1–8. St. Luke alone records the following instances of prayer on the part of Christ: iii. 21, v. 16, vi. 12, ix. 18, 29, xi. 1, xxii. 32.

7. The prominence given to joy and peace: i. 14, xxiv. 52, etc.

8. The references to the Holy Spirit: i. 15, 35, 41, iii. 16, iv. 14, x. 21, xi. 13, xii. 10.

9. The Hebraic colouring of the language as contrasted with that of Mk., which is reminiscent of Aramaic. See for Lk.'s. Hebraisms, Plummer's *St. Luke* (*Int. Crit. Com.*), p. lx. This element in the language does not necessarily presuppose sources written in Hebrew, but imitation of the Hebrew-coloured language of the LXX. Hebraisms are the common "and it came to pass," and "behold" or "and behold."

10. The emphasis laid upon Jerusalem as the goal of the Lord's journeyings: ix. 51, 53, 57, x. 38, xiii. 23, xvii. 11, xviii. 31, xix. 11, 28. This journey occupies one chapter in Mk., two in Mt., nine in Lk. Notice also that Mk. suggests an appearance after the Resurrection in Galilee, Mt. records one, but Lk. records appearances in Jerusalem alone.

11. The medical colouring of the language of the book. Cf. Harnack, *Luke the Physician.*

This may be seen (*a*) in changes made in narratives borrowed from Mk.; *e.g.* for Mk.'s word (παραλυτικός) for a palsied man, ii. 3, Lk. v. 18 substitutes a more technical word (παραλελυμένος).

(*b*) In the insertion into his Gospel of miracles of healing not found elsewhere: *e.g.* vii. 11–17 (the widow's son), xiv. 1–6 (a dropsical man), xiii. 10–17 (the paralysed woman).

(*c*) In the insertion of parables with a colouring of medical language: *e.g.* there are medical terms in the parables of the Good Samaritan, and of the Rich Man and Lazarus.

(*e*) In the emphasis upon Christ's work as a healer.

Out of his many sources, St. Luke has woven what has been described as "the most beautiful book in the world." About it hangs the peace of God, clothing it like a soft atmosphere. Into the world has entered the Prince of Peace, bringing healing to the bodies and souls of men, not of Jews only, of all mankind; not for the rich, or the privileged classes only, but for the poor and outcast; not for men only, but for women also. To those who are His disciples the gates of prayer are ever open, and they live in peace, with praise on their lips and joy in their hearts.

V.

ACTS.

A. Analysis and Contents.

(*a*) i.–vii. The Church at Jerusalem.

(*b*) viii.–ix. 31. Extension of the Church in Judæa and Samaria.

(*c*) ix. 32–xii. 25. Extension to Gentiles at Cæsarea, and Antioch.

(*d*) xiii. 1–xxviii. 31. The work of St. Paul in founding Gentile Churches, and his trial to the end of the two years' confinement at Rome.

The phrase in i. 8, "witnesses of me in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth," furnishes a clue to the division of the book. i.–vii. describe the early history of the Church at Jerusalem. viii.–ix. 31 describe its extension to Samaria and Judæa. ix. 32–xii. 25 show how it further extended as far north as Antioch. But the development described in i.–xii. is not merely geographical. In i.–vii. membership of the Church seems to be confined to Jews, both "Hebrew" and "Hellenist," and Proselytes. The only suggestion

that Christianity has any significance for Gentiles is found in iii. 39, " to all who are far off." But in St. Peter's mouth at this date it is very unlikely that this refers to Gentiles. It needed a divine vision later on to convince him that Gentiles could receive the Spirit. " All who are far off " may mean Jews of the Dispersion, or proselytes, or later generations. But the death of Stephen, which ends this first period, is full of significance. His speech had been full of half suggestion that religion cannot be confined to one place or people. His death and the persecution which followed drove out the Christians to become missionaries of the Gospel elsewhere. It is very significant of still further extension that they should preach to Samaritans.

Still more important was the belief of Saul, that he had been commissioned to carry the gospel to Gentiles; cf. ix. 15, xxii. 21, xxvi. 17. But so far the time for this does not seem to have been ripe, and this section leaves St. Paul in retirement at Tarsus, ix. 30.

In the third section, ix. 32–xii. 25, the movement towards further expansion grows. A vision forces St. Peter to preach to a Gentile, and to baptize him; and others of less note followed his example by preaching to Gentiles at Antioch, xi. 20. The result seems to have been that Antioch became a centre of a forward movement, and that plans were set on foot there for the sending of missionaries to Gentiles in the West. It was natural that with this scheme in their mind the thoughts of the leaders at Antioch should turn to Saul of Tarsus, who was probably

widely known as one who held radical views as to the universal scope of Christ's teaching. They therefore sent for him, xi. 25, and began to plan a missionary campaign in the West.

The rest of the book, xiii. 1–xxviii. 31, describes the part played by St. Paul in the extension of the gospel to the Gentiles. His first journey carried him through Cyprus and the cities in the southern part of the Roman province of Galatia, xiii. 1–xiv. 28. On his return he had to meet determined opposition from a section of the Jewish Christians, and obtained at a Council at Jerusalem recognition from the Church there of the rights of Gentiles to admission to the Christian Church, xv. 1–35. A second journey carried him through Asia Minor into Macedonia and Greece, whence he sailed to Cæsarea by way of Ephesus, xv. 36–xviii. 22. In a third journey, xviii. 23–xxi. 8, he revisited South Galatia (or North Galatia ?),[1] Ephesus, Macedonia, and Greece. He had intended to return by ship to Syria, but altered his plans and went back by land to Philippi. Thence he went to Troas, and so by ship to Cæsarea.

From Cæsarea he went to Jerusalem, and xxi. 17–xxviii. 31 describe in detail his arrest in Jerusalem, his various trials and two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea, his appeal to Cæsar, and his voyage, culminating in another two years' confinement there. The whole narrative is full of vivid interest, but it leaves unexplained the reasons why St. Paul went to Jerusalem. It is clear from the Epistle to the

[1] See p. 130 ff.

Romans, written at Corinth on the third journey, that he was planning a campaign to the West.[1] What had he to gain by going back first to Jerusalem? The extreme Jewish-Christian party had been dogging his footsteps, and trying to frustrate his work. At Corinth they had plotted to kill him on his return journey.[2] He must have been well aware that he might never return alive from Jerusalem. Compare xx. 23, 25, xxi. 4, 11. What reason compelled him to put his neck into a noose? St. Luke gives us no explanation. Possibly, as Harnack suggests, he desired, as one who valued his privileges as a member of the Israelite race, to make a final attempt to convince the Jewish Christians at Jerusalem, who still maintained their observance of the Mosaic Law, that there was room for both Gentile Christians and Law-keeping Jewish Christians within one Church, and that his Gentile Churches had no wish to prevent Jewish Christians from observance of the Law. If this was his hope it was disappointed, and the breach between the Pauline Churches and the extreme Jewish-Christian community in Palestine became permanent.

B. Characteristics.

The features noted as characteristic of the Gospel are for the most part to be found also in the Acts. There is the same emphasis upon the universal significance of the Gospel. Indeed the book is largely a history of the struggle for the recognition of this

[1] Ro. xv. 24. [2] Ac. xx. 3.

feature of Christianity. Here, too, we find the same prominence given to women, and to the poverty of the early Christian Church. The reference to the work of the Holy Spirit is a dominating idea of the Acts, St. Luke's belief being that the work which Jesus had begun in the days of His earthly life was carried on by Him through the agency of the Holy Spirit after His ascension. Here, too, are the keynotes of prayer, praise and thanksgiving, joy and peace as characteristic of the life of the Christian Church. But into the Acts enters a new note of triumph. The Christian Church, as St. Luke describes it, marches triumphantly through the Roman world from victory to victory until we leave it at Rome, the world's metropolis. Harnack fitly gives as a keynote for the work the words of the old Latin hymn, "The Royal Standards forward go."

C. The Text.

The question of the true Greek text presents some great difficulties in this book.

Some of the authorities, especially the Greek Uncial Codex Bezæ (D), the Old Latin Version, and quotations in Irenæus and Cyprian, present a text which, as compared with the Greek Text ordinarily printed, is full of interpolations, and very paraphrastic.[1] The origin of these co-called "Western" readings is a much disputed point. Blass believed that St. Luke

[1] See on the "Western" text, Lake, *Text of the New Testament*, ch. vi.

published two editions of both Gospel and Acts, so that the "Western" text of these books is as authentic as the ordinary text. Others believe that for the most part these readings are corruptions of, or glosses into, the true text. But several scholars of note believe that in some cases at least these readings display accurate archæological knowledge, and that in some cases they are to be preferred to the ordinary text. The following is a selection of some of the more important:

xi. 28, add after Antioch, "and when we were gathered together." If genuine, this would confirm the tradition of the Antiochene origin of St. Luke.

xii. 10, add after "went forth," "and went down the seven steps."

xiv. 2, add at the end, "but the Lord quickly gave peace." This looks like an attempt to smooth the awkward transition from ver. 2 to ver. 3.

xv. 20, omit "from what is strangled." The decree as ordinarily read has given rise to much objection as to the historical character of the narrative. Harnack and others believe that the "Western" text is here original.

xix. 9, add at the end, "from the fifth to the tenth hour."

xix. 1. The "Western" text runs, "And when Paul wished of his own will to go to Jerusalem, the Spirit bade him return to Asia. And having passed through the upper regions he cometh to Ephesus, and finding certain disciples, said——"

xxi. 16, after "with us" the "Western" text runs,

"these brought us to those with whom we should lodge, and arriving at a certain village we stayed with Mnason."

xix. 28, 34, for "Great is Diana," the "Western" text has "Great Diana."

VI.

THIRD GOSPEL AND ACTS.

A. Date.

The Acts is usually assigned to the latter part of the first century on some or all of the following grounds:

1. The second Gospel is assigned to the period 65–70 A.D. The third Gospel must be later, and the Acts later still.

2. The third Gospel is thought to presuppose the fall of Jerusalem. Compare Lk. xxi. 2, "when ye see Jerusalem surrounded by armies," as compared with Mk. xii. 14, "when ye see the abomination of desolation."

3. The author of Acts is thought to have read the *Antiquities* of Josephus, which was written about 93–94 A.D. In Ac. v. 36, 37, he places in the mouth of Gamaliel references to two agitators, Theudas and Judas. Now in Jos. *Ant.* xx. v. 1, Josephus mentions one Theudas who deluded many people when Fadus was Procurator, about 44 A.D., long after the time when Gamaliel was speaking. A few lines lower

down he speaks of "the sons of Judas of Galilee." "I mean," he adds, "of that Judas who caused the people to revolt when Cyrenius came to register the estates of the Jews." This happened in 6 A.D. That is to say, Josephus mentions Theudas and Judas in an order the reverse of the chronological, but leaves his readers in no doubt as to the true order. It is suggested that the author of the Acts, remembering the order in which Theudas and Judas occur in Josephus, has placed a reference to them in the mouth of Gamaliel, forgetting that the former raised his revolt after the time at which Gamaliel was speaking. For other alleged cases of a dependence of Luke upon Josephus, see Moffatt, *Introd. to N.T.*, pp. 29–31.[1]

4. The contents of Acts are regarded as in many respects so unhistorical as to suggest a comparatively late author; *e.g.*

(*a*) The account of the Council in xv. is held to be contradictory to the narrative of that event given by St. Paul in Gal. ii. 1–10, and the decrees are said to be impossible, since in 1 Cor. St. Paul takes no notice of them.[2]

(*b*) The accounts of the Ascension, Pentecost, and of other miraculous events are held to be legendary, and therefore late in date.[3]

(*c*) The representation of the character of St. Paul

[1] Harnack decisively rejects any dependence of Luke upon Josephus, *Date of Acts*, p. 114, note.

[2] Harnack can accept Ac. xv. as historical, but only by adopting the "Western" text of the decree.

[3] Cf. Jülicher, *Int. N.T.*, p. 442.

is held to be at variance with the St. Paul who is known to us from his Epistles. The St. Paul who writes the Epistle to the Galatians is one who has done for ever with the Mosaic Law, Gal. ii. 19, iv. 31, etc. The St. Paul of the Acts is one who himself observes the Law, xviii. 18, xxi. 26, and teaches Jewish Christians to do the same; cf. xxi. 21, 24, where it is implied that St. Paul did not teach Jewish Christians that they must not circumcise their children nor walk after the customs, and distinctly stated that he did observe the Law.

The best recent discussion of these points is that in Harnack.

He believes that none of the alleged grounds for a late date are valid, and gives a series of reasons for assigning Acts to the end of the two years referred to in Ac. xxviii. 30. Certainly no other date explains so adequately why the Acts ends where it does, and why the author did not carry on the history to the death of St. Paul. And it is also true that the primitive Christology of the book (cf. especially ii. 22, "a man appointed by God"), and the treatment of the Jews without any reference to the fall of Jerusalem, suggest a date before the year 70 A.D. The theology of the book might be explained as the untechnical theology of a layman, without reference to date. But the earlier the book can be placed on this account the easier this feature of the book becomes.

Of course, the date of the third Gospel depends upon the date assigned to Acts. Reasons generally given for dating it about 80 A.D. are: (*a*) its depend-

ence upon Mk.; (*b*) the use made in it of Josephus;[1] (*c*) references to the fall of Jerusalem. None of these grounds seem secure. Mk. is probably a very early book. The use of Josephus is very unlikely. And the supposed allusions to the fall of Jerusalem are probably illusory. The book may well have been written, *e.g.*, during St. Paul's confinement at Cæsarea, or during his imprisonment at Rome.

B. Authorship.

Tradition has assigned these books to St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul. Statements to this effect are found in Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and the Muratorian Canon.

Fundamental here are the so-called "we" sections. The "we" appears first, unless the "Western" text is right in inserting it in xi. 28, in xvi. 10–17; it reappears in xx. 5–xxi. 18, and in xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16. Many modern scholars believe that these passages come from the diary of a companion of St. Paul; but that the author of the whole book is not the Diarist, but a later writer using the diary amongst his other sources.

It seems, however, to have been proved beyond reasonable doubt that on grounds of style and language the writer of the third Gospel and of the main portion of the Acts cannot be distinguished

[1] See Peake, *Crit. Int. N.T.*, p. 135, who believes that St. Luke was acquainted with the *Antiquities*.

from the writer of the " we " sections.[1] And since, further, the medical colouring of the language of both books, including these sections, suggest a physician as their author, it seems difficult to see upon what grounds the traditional authorship can be set aside, unless the nature of the contents prevent us from believing that a companion of St. Paul could have composed them. It may be added that in points of archæological detail, such as knowledge of the correct title for officials, the accuracy of the writer has been proved to be exact. Compare, *e.g.*, the correct terms " proconsul," xiii. 7, xviii. 12; " magistrates," literally " prætors," xvi. 20; " rulers," literally " politarchs," xvii. 6; " chief man," xxviii. 7.

St. Luke is mentioned in Col. iv. 14 as " the beloved physician," and in Philem. 24 as one of St. Paul's fellow-workers who was present with him during his imprisonment at Rome. The statement that he belonged to Antioch goes back to Eusebius, and perhaps to Julius Africanus, one hundred years earlier.

It is a happy thing that the first attempt to write a history of Christianity was made by a Greek and a doctor. His nationality would predispose him to appreciate the universalistic element in Christ's teaching, and his medical training would give him

[1] See Harnack, *Date of Acts*, pp. 1-29; Moffatt, *Int. N.T.*, pp. 295–300; Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, 182 ff. "There is an immense balance of internal and linguistic evidence in favour of the view that the original writer of these sections was the same person as the main author of the Acts and of the third Gospel."

that humanitarian interest in suffering human nature, irrespective of racial, religious, or class distinctions, which led him to see in Christ the Divine Saviour, who had brought healing to the souls and bodies of all the sons and daughters of Adam.

VII.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN.

A. The Purpose and Plan.

When we pass from the first three Gospels to the Fourth, our first feeling, perhaps, is one of bewilderment. We find ourselves at a new halting-place in the stream of Christian literature, and we feel at once that the interval which separates us from the last stage of the Synoptic narrative is no small one. We are further down stream now, and in other waters. In the first three Gospels, progress had been level and uniform. We started with St. Mark's reminiscences of the teaching of St. Peter; we passed to the Messianic edition of St. Mark associated with the name of St. Matthew; and so we continued our way to St. Luke's historical re-edition of it. But here in the Fourth Gospel much of the landscape is unfamiliar. Now and again we are reminded of some well-remembered scene in the Synoptic narrative, as in the Feeding of the Five Thousand, or in the events of the last week of our Lord's life; but both the general setting and many of the details are new and strange.

For the Galilean Ministry, on which St. Mark loved to dwell, there are substituted here narratives of work and teaching in Jerusalem. For the Synagogue Ministry, with its short, pregnant sayings, for the village and lake-side teaching, with its stories drawn from nature, its parables of the kingdom, we have now long dialogues, speeches, and discourses. For the Son of Man who seemed to shrink from proclaiming His Messiahship, who in the early part of His ministry straitly charged those whom He healed to tell no man, we have now One who is introduced to us in the first line of the book as the Logos of God, and whose sayings revolve ever round the same theme, His own Being, and its meaning for the disciples and for the world.

And if there is much that is new in the subject-matter of the book, so also is there in the method of treatment. In this respect St. John approximates more nearly to St. Matthew than to the other two Gospels. There we found a writer selecting and combining his material with a theological end in view. And so it is here. But in this respect also we feel at once that the Fourth Gospel is the later of the two. St. Matthew's standpoint is that of the Jewish Christian Rabbi, St. John's that of the Christian theologian,—a theologian who, looking back from a distance upon the history which he is recording, reads into it the reflections of a lifetime of patient thought (cf. the reflective comments in i. 16–18, ii. 11, 21, 22, iii. 16–21, 31–36, xii. 36–43, xix. 35–37). So it is that he opens his Gospel not with

historical facts, but with a theological summary, unsurpassed for terseness and depth, drawing out the meaning that he has seen in those facts. So it is, too, that he selects from an abundance of possible material such words and incidents as will best illustrate the supreme conviction that had grown year by year in the minds of himself and of his fellow-disciples, that in the Person of Jesus of Nazareth they had beheld the Incarnation of the Divine Nature, the Logos of God, Himself God, whose attributes had shone forth for the enlightening of men in the human character of the Son of Man.

With regard to the purpose and plan of the Fourth Gospel we can with some confidence make the following statements :

1. The writer presupposes a knowledge of the subject-matter of the Synoptic Gospels on the part of his readers. Thus he alludes to incidents in the Synoptic tradition without pausing to relate them ; *e.g.* John's baptism (i. 19 ff.), the baptism of our Lord (i. 32), the imprisonment of John (iii. 24). He mentions " the Twelve " (vi. 67), though he has given no account of their appointment. Nazareth is spoken of incidentally as the home of our Lord (i. 46). Martha and Mary are introduced in a way which presupposes some previous knowledge of them (xi. 1). Here and there the writer seems to wish to correct a mis-statement on the part of the earlier evangelists (cf. iii. 24 with Mk. i. 14, xiii. 1 with Mk. xiv. 12, xiii. 2 with Lk. xxii. 3).

2. It is therefore probable that he intentionally

passes over what they have already recorded. Exceptions to this rule are probably due to the fact that the incident so duplicated was of special importance for the writer's own purpose. Thus the Feeding of the Five Thousand seems to be introduced as illustrating the growth of opinion on the part of the multitude (vi. 14, 15), and as leading up to the discourse in the synagogue at Capernaum, which proved so critical a turning-point in the faith of some of the disciples (vi. 66).

3. As to the immediate purpose of the writer in his selection of material we are in no doubt. He tells us plainly that he had written his book that his readers might believe "that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing" they might "have life in his name" (xx. 31). His plan for inducing this belief was to select from the abundance of our Lord's sayings and doings such as were more directly connected with the growth of this faith in Jesus Christ on the part of himself and his fellow-disciples, and the growth of disbelief on the part of the Jews. Hence it is that for the writer the doings of Jesus are not so much works of power, as in the Synoptists, as "signs," illustrations, that is, of His Divine nature. Hence also the frequent comments as to the effect produced upon the bystanders of the various incidents recorded (cf. ii. 11, 17, 22, 23, iv. 39–42, vi. 2, 14, 41, 52, 60, 66, vii. 31, 40, 43, viii. 30, x. 6, 19–21, 42, xi. 45, 46, xii. 37, 42, xx. 8).

To this purpose is due the fact that running through the whole book, like the theme of a piece of music,

are the two leading ideas, of witness, *i.e.* to the Person of Jesus Christ, and belief, *i.e.* belief in this manifold witness. These ideas again are two-sided. The writer intends to record that witness to our Lord's Person which created and fostered his own belief and faith in Him. But he also regards this witness as permanently valid, and proposes so to illustrate it that it may attract the belief of every fresh generation of men (i. 7, iii. 16–21, 31–36, vi. 40, 47, xii. 46, xvii. 20, xix. 35, xx. 31).

For " witness," cf.—

The witness of John: i. 7, 8, 15, 19, 29, 32, 34, iii. 26, v. 33, 36.

Of our Lord's signs : ii. 11, 23, iv. 48, v. 36, vi. 14, x. 25, 38, xi. 45.

Of the Scriptures : ii. 22, v. 39, 46, 47.

Of our Lord Himself : ii. 22, iii. 32, 33, iv. 41, v. 24, 31, viii. 13, 14, 18, xviii. 37.

Of disciples : iv. 39, xv. 27.

Of God the Father, v. 37, viii. 18.

Of the Holy Spirit : xv. 26.

Of the writer of the book : xix. 35, xxi. 24.

For " belief," cf.—

Its universal intent : i. 7.

Its prerogatives : the right to become sons of God, i. 12 ; eternal life, iii. 15, v. 24, vi. 40, 47 ; resurrection and life, xi. 25, 26 ; escape from condemnation, iii. 18 ; escape from darkness, xii. 46 ; power to do the works of Christ and still greater works, xiv. 12 ; reception of the Holy Spirit, vii. 39.

Its object : the Person of Christ, iv. 39, xii. 42,

xiv. 1, xvii. 20; His name, i. 12, ii. 23; the Son of God, ix. 35.

Its grounds: the Scriptures, ii. 22, v. 46; Christ's words, ii. 22, iv. 41, viii. 30; His signs and works, ii. 23, iv. 48, vi. 30, x. 38; the testimony of disciples, iv. 39; the things recorded in this book, xx. 31.

Its hindrances: v. 44, viii. 45.

4. Since the writer is consciously selecting his material, it is natural to expect that his choice might be influenced to some extent by the controversies of the day. Such hints as can be seen or suspected are, however, quite secondary to the main purpose of the work.

(*a*) In the identification of Jesus with the creative Word of God, which is explicitly asserted to be one with God, it is traditional to see a desire to guard against the primitive Gnosticism of Cerinthus, St. John's opponent at Ephesus, who taught that the creative Power was distinct from, and ignorant of, the Supreme God. This is quite possible, and the central idea of the book, that in Jesus the Supreme God is revealed, strikes at the very root of all Gnosticism. But the danger had not yet become a very serious one, as is shown by the fact that St. John's terminology is so far akin to that of Gnosticism that the Gospel was a favourite work with the Gnostics of the second century.[1]

(*b*) The allusions to John the Baptist (especially

[1] The emphasis on light and darkness, on knowledge, on the new birth, is found again in the Gnostic systems. For parallels and dissimilarities, see E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 95 ff.

i. 8, 20) have been held by some to show the existence in Asia of a body of John's disciples (cf. Ac. xix. 3) who regarded John and not Jesus as the promised Christ. The point, however, is very problematical.

(*c*) The term "Jews" is constantly used throughout the Gospel in the sense of the opponents of Christ and Christianity. This usage is a clear mark of a date when the breach with Judaism was complete. The battle for freedom fought by St. Paul had long been won. There was now no danger of a compromise. The matter had passed from the forefront of Christian politics, as is shown by the slightness of the reference in i. 17. The Jew was no longer a possible, if dangerous, friend, but an open enemy.

(*d*) The matter of the Gospel may well be selected with an eye to the intellectual and other difficulties of the early Christians. Thus the discourses in chs. iii. and vi. may be intended to aid in the solution of sacramental problems, and many similar applications of various parts of the book might be suggested.[1]

B. Authorship.

The tradition assigning the Fourth Gospel to the Apostle John dates from the later years of the second century. In about 170 A.D., Theophilus of Antioch cites the opening words of the Gospel as the work of John, though he does not explicitly identify this John with the Apostle of that name. At about the same date the Muratorian Fragment speaks of the

[1] Cf. Moffatt, *Introduction to New Testament*, p. 530 n.

Fourth Gospel as by "John, one of the disciples," and tells how it was written in accordance with a revelation given in a dream to the Apostle Andrew. A far more important witness is Irenæus, who became Bishop of Lyons in about 180 A.D., and who quite clearly regards the book as the work of the Apostle. Writing towards the end of the century, he says, "Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reclined on His bosom, also published his Gospel, while staying at Ephesus in Asia."[1] And Irenæus was well qualified to speak in the matter; for, despite the date at which he writes, his own life was linked to that of the Apostle by a single intervening life. In his youth he had lived in Lower Asia, and, writing to an old friend, Florinus, he describes the distant, but well-remembered, intercourse which he had had with Polycarp the aged Bishop of Smyrna, who was martyred probably in 155 A.D. He recalled, in particular, how Polycarp "used to describe his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord, and how he used to relate their words."[2] It is thus hard to believe that Irenæus can have been deceived as to the authorship of the Gospel. What he taught at the end of the century, Polycarp must have taught at the beginning; and the memory of Polycarp, who had been eighty-six years a Christian when he died, went back to the very days when the Gospel had been published by his own teacher and friend. The evidence of Irenæus is thus very strong, and it is confirmed within a few years by Tertullian

[1] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 8. [2] *Ibid.* v. 20.

in North Africa and Clement of Alexandria in Egypt.

Though the Gospel itself is anonymous, there is much in its contents to supplement the very strong external evidence ascribing it to St. John. The arguments usually brought forward are as follows:

(1) The author is clearly a Jew. His knowledge of things Jewish is detailed and accurate. Thus he alludes to customs of purification (ii. 6, xi. 55, xviii. 28), and to the discussions that were rife on the same subject (iii. 25). He knows the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles (vii. 37) and the rules for the Passover (xi. 55, xii. 20, xviii. 28, xix. 14, 31, 42). He can give the details of Jewish burial customs (xi. 38, 44, xix. 39 ff.), and understands the exact spirit of the hostility with which the Samaritans regarded their neighbours at Jerusalem (iv. 9, 20). And, despite the excellent Greek, the book as a whole is very Hebraistic in thought and manner. The interest in the Old Testament, the Rabbinic "Come and see" (i. 39, 46, iv. 29), the repeated "Amen," alike point to a Jewish author.[1]

(2) The writer's knowledge of Palestine is remark-

[1] It has often been urged that the allusion to Caiaphas as "high priest that year" (xi. 49, xviii. 13), is decisive against the view that the author was a Jew, since no Jew could have been ignorant of the fact that the high priest's office was not annual. It is argued that the writer must be a Greek, with the annual office of Asiarch in his mind. But the passage probably does not bear this meaning. The sense is simply that Caiaphas was high priest in that fateful year, the year of our Lord's death, and there is no implication that his tenure was limited to that year.

ably close and accurate. He remembers in detail the scenery round Jacob's well and Sychar (iv. 5, 6, 20, 28–31, 35); the pool of Bethesda,[1] with its five porches and variable springs (v. 2–7); Ænon near Salim, with its abundant waters (iii. 23). And especially he knows the Temple (ii. 14, viii. 20, x. 23), and the official residences of Annas (xviii. 15 ff.) and Pilate (xviii. 28 ff., xix. 13). There are also a number of allusions to little-known places, such as Cana (ii. 1), Bethany beyond Jordan (i. 28), Ephraim (xi. 54). The vague estimate of the distance of Bethany from Jerusalem (xi. 18) is that of one who had actually walked the road.

(3) The vivid character of the narrative suggests that the writer had been present at the scenes which he describes. He speaks freely and naturally of the most intimate scenes in the intercourse of Jesus with His disciples, with notes of time and knowledge of the feelings of those present which certainly suggest the vivid recollection of an eye-witness (*e.g.* i. 29, 39, ii. 1, iv. 6, 41, 52, xi. 6, xii. 1, xiii. 30, xviii. 28, ii. 17, iv. 27, xi. 13, xiii. 28. For other details, cf. ii. 6, iv. 18, vi. 10, 19, 23, x. 22, xviii. 2).

(4) Besides the above more general points, the book explicitly claims to be the work of an eye-witness in i. 14 (which becomes yet more explicit in 1 Jn. i. 1, by the same author), in xix. 35, and in xxi. 24.

[1] Bethzatha, "the house of the olive," is perhaps the best reading. Josephus calles the north part of Jerusalem "Bezetha"; and possibly this was the reading here.

(5) Who is this eye-witness? xix. 35 provides us with at least a probable clue. He who witnesses the piercing of our Lord's side must surely be "the disciple whom Jesus loved," who has been mentioned shortly before as standing by the Cross. He it was who was privileged to lean upon the bosom of Jesus at the Last Supper, who received His confidence as to the betrayal (xiii. 23–26). It is natural to suppose that he was one of the chosen three with whom our Lord seems to have stood on grounds of somewhat closer intimacy than He did with the other Apostles. Of these three, St. John alone can be the author of this book. St. Peter cannot be the beloved disciple who stood by the Cross and bore witness, for he is mentioned side by side with him in xiii. 24, xx. 2. St. James is out of the question, for he died at an early date (Ac. xii. 2). St. John alone remains.

It is entirely in harmony with this authorship of the book by John the son of Zebedee that this Apostle is never named in it, and that consequently there is no occasion to distinguish the other John by his title of Baptist, as in the first three Gospels.

C. Date.

Tradition assigns the Gospel to St. John's last years at Ephesus, at the close of the first century. It would be impossible to place it earlier in view of the wide gulf between it and the Synoptic Gospels, the existence of which it presupposes. The Christianity of the writer is clearly the product of many

years, as is also his complete detachment from his kinsmen the Jews.

On the other hand, even those who deny the Johannine authorship find it impossible to bring the book much later. The view held by the Tübingen school of critics, that the Gospel was a work of the middle of the second century, is now generally abandoned. It has been much disputed whether Justin knew it. Probably he did, but a decision on the point is now unimportant, since the Gospel was certainly in existence long before his time. Hippolytus' great work, *The Refutation of all Heresies*, shows that it was quoted by the great Gnostics, Basilides and Valentinus, *i.e.* in the third decade of the second century.[1] And it seems to be clear that at about the same time Papias, who certainly knew the First Epistle, knew the Gospel also.[2] Going back still further, the Epistles of Ignatius are full of Johannine ideas and phrases, and it is not easy to account for the resemblance except on the hypothesis that the Gospel was known to their author. But this makes it impossible to bring the Gospel later than the beginning of the second century. This position is

[1] The attempt to cast doubt upon the value of the evidence of Hippolytus has not been very successful. See Peake, art. "Basilides," in Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics.*

[2] This is admitted by some quite extreme critics, *e.g.* Schwartz, who thinks that Papias compares St. Mark's Gospel to some other Gospel (in the passage quoted on p. 7), which can be neither St. Matthew nor St. Luke. Another statement attributed to Papias asserts that St. John's Gospel was published while St. John was "still in the flesh."

roughly that adopted by Harnack, who, while denying the apostolic authorship, places the Gospel between 80 and 110 A.D.

It is quite possible, in fact the Gospel itself suggests it, that the book was not actually given to the world in its present form until after St. John had passed away. The work as it left the Apostle's hands seems originally to have closed with the impressive words in xx. 30, 31. What is narrated in xxi. 1–23 seems to have been added, either by St. John himself or by his friends after his death, with the intention of correcting a current misconception of our Lord's words to St. Peter (xxi. 22). In any case, xxi. 24 is a note added by those who had the care of the publication of the book in their hands, explaining that the writer of the book is the beloved disciple referred to in the preceding section, and re-affirming their confidence in the general accuracy of his testimony.

D. Analysis.

i. 1–5. The Divine subject of the book.

6–36. The witness of John, the divinely sent forerunner.

(Reflective comments anticipating the main teaching of the book in vv. 9, 14, 16–18.)

37–42. The consequent belief of some of John's disciples.

i. 43–ii. 12. First preaching in Galilee. The beginnings of belief there.

ii. 13–iii. 36. First visit to Jerusalem for the Passover.

(*a*) The Cleansing of the Temple, and belief of the disciples and others, ii. 13–25.

(*b*) Conversation with Nicodemus. Belief as involving a new Birth into the Spiritual order, iii. 1–15.

(Reflective comments of the Evangelist, iii. 16–21.)

(*c*) Work in Judæa. Further witness of John, iii. 22–30.

(Reflective comments of the Evangelist, iii. 31–36.)

iv. 1–42. A passing visit to Samaria. Beginnings of belief there.

iv. 43–54. Second visit to Galilee. A second sign and further belief.

v. Second visit to Jerusalem.

(*a*) The miracle at Bethesda, and the beginnings of the hostility of the Jews, v. 1–18.

(*b*) Discourse drawing out the Divine nature of the Son, the manifold witness to Him, and the causes of the rejection of this witness by the Jews, v. 19–47.

vi. Third visit to Galilee.

(*a*) Feeding of the Five Thousand, and consequent belief, vi. 1–15.

(*b*) Jesus walks on the sea, vi. 16–21.

(*c*) Discourse in the Synagogue at Capernaum on the Bread of Life, resulting in the growing disbelief of the Jews and the desertion of some of the disciples, vi. 22–71.

vii.–x. 39. Third visit to Jerusalem.

(*a*) The unbelief of the brethren of Jesus and others, vii. 1–13.

(*b*) Jesus at the Feast of Tabernacles. Disputes among the Jews concerning Him, vii. 14–52.

(vii. 53–viii. 11. The woman taken in adultery.)

(*c*) Discourses on witness and belief, viii. 12–59.

(*d*) Healing of the man born blind. Disbelief of the Jews, ix.

(*e*) Discourse on the blessedness of belief. Consequent uncertainty among the Jews, x. 1–21.

(*f*) The Dedication. Controversy with the Jews about belief, x. 22–39.

x. 40–42. Sojourn beyond Jordan and the progress of belief there.

xi. The Final Breach with the Jews.

(*a*) Visit to Bethany and raising of Lazarus, resulting in widespread belief, xi. 1–45.

(*b*) The hostility of the Jews is thereby forced into action, xi. 46–53.

(*c*) Jesus withdraws to Ephraim, and the Jews determine to arrest Him, xi. 54–57.

xii.–xx. 29. The Last Days at Jerusalem.

(*a*) Jesus returns for the Passover. The supper at Bethany, xii. 1–8.

(*b*) The plots of the Jews mature, xii. 9–11.

(*c*) The Royal Entry, xii. 12–19.

(*d*) Certain Greeks come to see Jesus, xii. 1–33.

(*e*) Resultant sayings on belief and disbelief, xii. 34–50.

(*f*) The Last Supper, and farewell discourses to the disciples, xiii.–xvii.

(*g*) The arrest at Gethsemane, xviii. 1-11.

(*h*) The trial before Annas, and St. Peter's denials, xviii. 12–27.

(*i*) The trial before Pilate, xviii. 28–xix. 16.

(*j*) The Crucifixion, xix. 17–37.

(*k*) The Burial, xix. 38–42.

(*l*) Jesus appears alive to the disciples, xx. 1–29.

xx. 30, 31. Epilogue.

xxi. 1-23. The appearance by the Sea of Galilee, and the commission to St. Peter.

xxi. 24, 25. Confirmatory postscript.

E. Criticism and the Fourth Gospel.

Can the Fourth Gospel be regarded as history, or is it simply an inspired work of the imagination, of a theological and devotional character? It is clearly of the first importance to know whether its statements as to fact can be trusted. And this would be guaranteed to us if we could be sure that the traditional ascription to the Apostle John is correct. For in this case the Gospel would have a unique position, as coming from the pen of one of the inmost circles of the original disciples of our Lord.

The question of authenticity is one of the most vexed problems of criticism. Hardly a point in the evidence is free from dispute.[1]

(1) The problem is raised by the wide divergence in thought and manner between the Gospel and the Apocalypse.[2] The former represents Greek Chris-

[1] The best short discussion is in Peake's *Critical Introduction to the New Testament.*

[2] See p. 285.

tianity, the latter is perhaps the most Jewish book in the New Testament. As Dionysius of Alexandria noted, the Greek of the Gospel is unimpeachable, while that of the Apocalypse is full of barbarisms. Dionysius suggested that the Apocalypse must have been written by some other John, possibly John Mark or John the Presbyter. The argument of Dionysius has been accepted by many modern scholars, although there are still some, even among those who deny the Apostolic authorship, who yet hold that the two books are by one author.[1] It was turned against the Fourth Gospel by Baur and his followers, who regarded the Apostle John as a representative of primitive Jewish Christianity, in opposition to St. Paul, and the Apocalypse as written by him at an early date from that standpoint. The Gospel they assigned to the middle of the second century.

It is now clear, however, that the Gospel cannot be so late. Both it and the Apocalypse seem to belong to the last years of the first century. This makes it difficult to think that one writer composed both works, though certainty is hard to attain on such a point.[2]

[1] This view is taken, for example, by Harnack, who regards both writings as the work of John the Presbyter.

[2] It might be suggested, for example, as by Zahn, that the Gospel was composed with the aid of one of St. John's disciples who was an expert Greek writer. Or, on the other side, the Apocalypse may be regarded as an early work by the Apostle, published with additions, either by himself or another, in the time of Domitian. Such possibilities at least preclude an absolutely dogmatic decision.

But if a choice must be made, the strong evidence for the authenticity of the Gospel combines with the strange phenomena of the Apocalypse to suggest that it is the latter which must be assigned to another writer than the Apostle.

(2) It has been argued that the Greek tone which distinguishes the Gospel from the Apocalypse is so marked that the book cannot be the work of a Jew, at any rate of a Jew from Palestine. Those who adopt this position point to the obvious parallelism between the prologue of the Gospel and the ideas of Stoicism; to the pure, if simple, Greek style; to the allegorical treatment of the facts, after the Alexandrian manner.[1] And these considerations have a certain weight. We cannot imagine that St. John would have written so before he left Palestine. But at Ephesus he was accessible both to Stoic and to Alexandrian influence. And the evidence which has been given above to show that the writer was intimate both with Judaism and with Palestine has not been met. The old argument, that he could have gained his knowledge from books of travel, is now generally abandoned.[2] And the recent study of the book by

[1] It has often been argued that many of the facts, *e.g.* the six water-pots of ii. 6, the five husbands of iv. 18, are purely symbolic. In the latter case at least the argument is decidedly weakened by the fact that the Samaritans of 2 Ki. xvii. 29 ff. have not five gods but seven (see Peake, *Introduction to New Testament*, p. 206). And many of the most trivial facts are not capable of a symbolic explanation, *e.g.* vi. 19, xi. 18. This is especially true of the notes of time.

[2] So Moffatt, *Introduction to New Testament*, p. 547: "Whoever

Jewish scholars has done much to confirm this view. Not only do they bring forward evidence from the Talmud in support of many of the details of fact, but they also show that the discourses presuppose an exact knowledge of the Palestinian situation.[1] Examples may be seen in i. 20, 21, where the Christ and "the prophet" are distinguished; in iv. 25, which gives the Samaritan view of the Messiah; in vii. 27, 41, 42, where variant rumours as to the origin of the Messiah are recorded. One of the most recent Jewish writers, Dr. Abelson,[2] regards the whole doctrine of the book as closely parallel with that of the Targums, and confirms the connection which has often been noted between the "Memra" or "Word" of the Targums and the Johannine Logos.[3] He finds further numerous traces both of the typical Jewish Apocalyptic teaching and of the lore of the Rabbis. Such evidence seems to cut the ground away from beneath all objections to the authenticity of the Gospel based on its general style and tone.

(3) It has been noted above that the Fourth Gospel differs very considerably from the earlier

the author was, he must have had a first-hand acquaintance with the topography of Palestine prior to A.D. 70."

[1] See the essay by Dr. Abrahams, in *Cambridge Biblical Essays.*

[2] *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature.* London, 1912.

[3] That St. John borrowed the term from Philo or the Stoics need not be doubted. But the aspect of the Logos as creating falls out of sight in the Fourth Gospel. Neither Philo nor the Stoics regarded it as possible for God Himself to be revealed. But this is the very purpose of the Johannine Logos, identified with Jesus (cf. i. 1, 14 with v. 19; vi. 45, 46; x. 30; xiv. 9).

Gospels both in matter and manner. The latter difference may readily be explained as due to the purpose of the writer, and the wide divergence in the selection of material is also no objection to the historicity of the book. But there are chronological features which present more difficulty.

(*a*) The Synoptic Gospels appear to compress our Lord's whole ministry into a single year. St. John speaks of at least three periods of work at Jerusalem before the final catastrophe, and of one or more earlier visits to the Passover (ii. 13, 23, and cf. vi. 4).[1] But the inconsistency is more imaginary than real. Neither the Synoptic record nor the Fourth Gospel pretends to give a complete narrative, and St. Luke, the one writer to claim that his narrative is "set forth in order," is confessedly compiling from earlier documents. And even in the Synoptic narrative earlier visits to Jerusalem are implied both in the story of the Temptation and in the lament uttered by Jesus over Jerusalem (Mt. xxiii. 37 = Lk. xiii. 34).

(*b*) The Synoptists regard the Last Supper as a Passover (Mk. xiv. 12 ff. = Mt. xxvi. 17 ff. = Lk. xxii. 7 ff.), while the Fourth Gospel explicitly places it before the Passover (xiii. 1, xviii. 28, xix. 14). In

[1] It would reduce the period demanded by the Fourth Gospel if the suggestion could be accepted that ch. vi. should really precede ch. v. This would reduce the number of visits to Jerusalem, besides giving a very natural sequence of events. But there is no textual evidence for the change, and, indeed, the lament over Jerusalem implies several visits. On the other hand, the change makes the logical structure of the narrative much easier.

this case also, however the divergence arose,[1] there are in the Synoptic narratives more hints than one that the Fourth Gospel is right. Not only the wearing of arms (Mk. xiv. 47), but all manner of work (Mk. xv. 21 ; Lk. xxiii. 56) were forbidden during the Passover. And direct traces of another tradition in the Synoptists are to be seen in Mk. xiv. 2 = Mt. xxvi. 5, and perhaps in Lk. xxii. 15, 16. Thus the examination of these divergences as to chronology at least throws no doubt upon the authenticity of St. John's Gospel.

(4) That the writer was a Jew with an intimate knowledge of Palestine is now admitted by many quite extreme critics, but there is far less agreement as to whether he was an eye-witness of the facts which he narrates. The discussion turns round two points.

(*a*) Is the narrative such as might be expected from an eye-witness ? It is often suggested that the artificial form of the work extends even to the minute details of the scenes described, and that where these are not based upon the Synoptists a symbolic meaning must be seen in them. Some of the many cases where this explanation does not seem to apply have been given above ; and while it is clear that the writer sometimes selects for mention facts which had for

[1] Chwolson, *e.g.*, suggests that, as Nisan 14 fell on a Friday, an anticipatory Passover Supper might be eaten on the Thursday, and that Jesus availed Himself of this custom. The error may have arisen through a slip in the translation of the original Aramaic in Mk. xiv. 12. See Moffatt, *Introduction to New Testament*, p. 545.

him a symbolic significance, this does not preclude those facts from being literally true.

(*b*) The explicit claim of the book itself is disputed. In xix. 35 it may well be true that the reference in "he knoweth" is not to the author, but to the exalted Christ. But even so the intention of the verse remains the same. It can have no other purpose than to guarantee the accuracy of the narrative of the Crucifixion as depending on the record of an eye-witness.[1] It is quite gratuitous to suppose, with Professor Bacon, that the passage is an interpolation based on 1 Jn. v. 6 and 3 Jn. 12, and added by the author of xxi. 24. And this latter passage, explicitly identifying the author with the beloved disciple, cannot be lightly set aside. Whoever wrote it must have known the truth, and there is no good reason for suspecting his *bona fides*.[2] It is equally impossible to ignore i. 14. The parallel passage in 1 Jn. i. 1 renders it clear that it can only refer to definite intercourse of the author with Christ during His earthly life.[3]

[1] To say that the object of the verse is merely to prove "the spiritual testimony or interpretation which is the essential aim of the writer" (Moffatt, *Introduction to New Testament*, p. 569), seems to ignore the natural and plain sense of the words.

[2] The verse must have been written by friends of the author, when the book was published. Whether this was during his life or just after his death, both they and many of their readers would be in a position to know whether the author had been an actual eye-witness or not.

[3] This, of course, depends upon the assumption that the Gospel and the First Epistle are by the same writer. Upon this point, see p. 267.

(5) The combination of early and late features in the Gospel has led some to hold a more complex theory of its authorship. In its more definite form this theory is to the effect that an early work, perhaps due to the Apostle John,[1] was used at the end of the century by a writer at Ephesus as a basis for a larger treatise. This earlier work is usually supposed to consist of sayings of Jesus, and Wendt and others have attempted to separate it from the matter due to the later editor. Such attempts have not hitherto been successful. The style of the Gospel is exceedingly uniform, and the features which point to the conclusion that the author was an eye-witness are common to all parts of the book, both to the narrative and to the discourses. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the existence of such attempts at analysis is that the evidence for the trustworthiness of the tradition embodied in the Gospel is too strong to be ignored.

The theory is not infrequently held in a less rigid form, the Apostle John or some other eye-witness being regarded as the authority for the facts used by one of his disciples at a later date in composing the Gospel. Thus Harnack, while assigning the authorship of the book to John the Presbyter, holds that he used a tradition going back to the Apostle. The principal difficulty for such theories lies in the explicit claims of i. 14, xxi. 24, which make the author of the book himself responsible for the truth of its contents.

[1] Delff assigned this work to the beloved disciple, identified not with the Apostle, but with "John of Jerusalem."

(6) Granting that the work is that of an eye-witness, was that eye-witness the Apostle John ?

This question introduces one of the most thorny subjects of modern criticism, and only a very brief summary can here be attempted. It is perhaps worth while to point out before entering upon it, that if we may assume the result of the previous discussion and assert that the author was an eye-witness, the remaining issue is really a very narrow one. If the author was one of our Lord's original disciples, speaking of that which he himself had seen and heard, we have a very high guarantee indeed for the contents of his work. It would make little difference (though even that little is not unimportant) if we could be absolutely certain that he was the son of Zebedee, one of our Lord's chosen three. And if, as seems most probable, the author is one with the beloved disciple, it is surely of no importance at all towards our acceptance of the Gospel whether he is identical with the Apostle or no. We could ask no better witness than one " whom Jesus loved."

It is difficult to feel that any good case has been made out against this identification of the author with the beloved disciple. The strength of the testimony of the writers of the postscript in xxi. 24 has already been pointed out, and the very fact that one and one only of the central figures of the book remains unnamed throughout is not easily explained upon any other hypothesis. It is a poor reply to say that none of our Lord's disciples could possibly have claimed for himself so unique and lofty a position in

his Master's affection. If the claim was true, why should it not be made, especially by one who wished to guarantee to his readers the accuracy of his record? And may we not see the writer's delicacy in his careful veiling of his name?

But was the beloved disciple John the Apostle? The identification, as has been shown, is natural enough, but after all there is no direct evidence for it from the Gospel itself. We should, indeed, have practically no alternative if we could assume that only the Apostles were present at the Last Supper; but of this there is no clear proof, though it is a natural inference from the language of the Synoptists (Mk. xiv. 17; Mt. xxvi. 20; Lk. xxii. 14). It has been suggested that some member of the family in whose house the Last Supper was eaten may well have been present with the Twelve. The one great difficulty to this hypothesis is that the beloved disciple is found in the place of honour.

Delff suggested the existence of a John of Jerusalem, a disciple of priestly family, who had been confused with the Apostle owing to similarity of name. To this John he assigned at least the substratum of the Gospel. This theory has the advantage of accounting readily for the intimate acquaintance shown by the writer with the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, as well as for the allusion in xviii. 16. On the other hand, it renders the Galilæan narratives so difficult to explain that Delff cut them out as being no part of the Gospel in its original form.

The identification of this John of Jerusalem with

the beloved disciple has met with some approval among scholars, even though, as far as the internal evidence of the Gospel is concerned, it seems to create more difficulties than it relieves. Delff supposed that John of Jerusalem subsequently worked in Asia, and this would perhaps help to explain the enigmatic allusion in the letter of Polycrates to Victor (*c.* 196 A.D.). "In Asia also great lights have fallen asleep—and, moreover, John, who was both a martyr and a teacher, who leaned upon the bosom of the Lord, and became a priest wearing the sacerdotal plate. He fell asleep at Ephesus." [1]

The existence of John of Jerusalem is a mere conjecture, resting on no direct evidence. The theory would become more tangible if he could be identified with John the Presbyter, who undoubtedly taught in Asia about the end of the first century.

John the Presbyter looms very large in discussions of the Johannine problem. It is thus rather startling to find that our very knowledge of his existence rests upon a single passage in Papias, who says, "And again on any occasion when a person came (in my way) who had been a follower of the Elders, I would enquire about the discourses of the Elders—What was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, say." [2] This much-

[1] Gwatkin's translation, in *Selections from Early Christian Writers.*

[2] Lightfoot's translation. The sense is difficult, and attempts

debated passage at least makes it clear that there existed an Elder John among the more prominent disciples of the Lord, that he was distinct from the Apostle of the same name, and that he was alive in the time of Papias, presumably in Asia.

From the way in which he is mentioned by Papias it is clear that this John must have been a person of some importance. This brings us face to face with the possibility that some of the passages in early writers which refer to a John in Asia may refer not to the Apostle but to the presbyter, and that even where the reference to the Apostle is explicit there may be a misunderstanding due to the similarity of name. Many modern scholars think that there has been a very widespread confusion between the two Johns, and some go so far as to deny that the Apostle was ever in Ephesus at all. If this were so it would be impossible to assign the Fourth Gospel to him, and no more probable alternative than John the Presbyter could be suggested.

The arguments in favour of the Ephesian residence of St. John are very strong. The primary witness is that of Irenæus, which has been given above, and which is very difficult to dispute. Earlier still, Justin, who had himself lived in Ephesus, assigns the Apocalypse to the Apostle. But the Apocalypse is

have even been made to amend John the Presbyter out of existence. This is hardly possible. The phrase "disciple of the Lord" as applied to him need not necessarily imply that he was one of the original disciples. It is, however, possible that it might bear this meaning, and that the Elder might yet have been alive when Papias was a young man.

clearly an Asiatic work, so that Justin's evidence also implies that St. John had lived in Asia. Further, if the Apostle is to be identified with the beloved disciple, we have not only the evidence of Polycrates, but also that of the last chapter of the Gospel itself, since it is generally agreed that this was written in Asia, and, in part at least, by friends of the author of the whole work. The high probability of the identification of the beloved disciple with the Apostle makes this case a very strong one.

The arguments on the other side fall into two groups :

(*a*) The argument from silence. There is nothing in the New Testament which suggests that the Apostle John visited Asia. This, however, may readily be explained by the supposition that it was only in his later days that he settled in Ephesus. More serious is the silence of Ignatius, whose letters to the various Asiatic Churches, written within about twenty years of the supposed date of St. John's death, yet make no allusion to him. Even in his letter to the Ephesians he is silent as to St. John, though he mentions St. Paul. This silence is really difficult to explain, even in such short, impassioned letters as those of Ignatius ; but it certainly does not outweigh the strong, positive evidence for St. John's residence at Ephesus.

(*b*) It is believed by a number of scholars that there is sufficient evidence to show that St. John was actually martyred at an early date, in which case there would be no alternative to the view that the

John to whom the Ephesian tradition refers was not the Apostle, but the presbyter. The evidence falls into three parts :

1. The prophecy of Jesus that the sons of Zebedee should drink of His cup (Mk. x. 39 ; Mt. xx. 23). This has always been interpreted as a prophecy of martyrdom ; and it was argued by Wellhausen that unless this prophecy had been literally fulfilled it would never have been recorded by St. Mark. This would involve the martyrdom of St. John at a very early date. Schwartz, indeed, argued from this passage that he must have died at the same time as St. James. But it is difficult to reconcile this with the silence of Ac. xii. 2, besides involving the quite impossible identification of the John of Gal. ii. 9 with John Mark. Against any form of the theory the silence of the New Testament as a whole is a serious difficulty, and it is in any case quite unnecessary to interpret the prophecy in so rigid and literal a manner.

2. A single manuscript of a ninth-century writer, Georgios Hamartolos, quotes from the second book of Papias the statement that " John was slain by the Jews," understanding thereby, as the context shows, John the Apostle. Alone this would have little weight, but recently a fragment has been published which seems to come from an eighth-century epitome of the History of Philip of Side, a fifth-century writer. This runs, " Papias says in his second book that John the Divine and James his brother were killed by Jews." This cannot be an accurate quotation, since

the title "John the Divine" is a late one. Yet it seems to show that Papias must have said something which could give rise to these statements. At the most, of course, this would not disprove the Ephesian residence, since St. John might have been murdered by Jews at Ephesus as well as elsewhere. But it is very doubtful whether the facts are not sufficiently met by supposing that Papias spoke of St. John as a martyr in the wider sense, or that his words originally referred to John the Baptist (coupled with James the Lord's brother, as Bernard suggests). Many scholars refuse to credit the evidence of these fragments, including Harnack, whose opinion in the matter is disinterested, since he denies that St. John lived at Ephesus.

3. A Syriac calendar (411 A.D.) commemorates as martyrs on 27th December, "John and James the Apostles at Jerusalem." A Carthaginian calendar of the next century has for the same date, "St. John the Baptist and James the Apostle"; but this is clearly a correction, since John the Baptist is also commemorated on 24th June. This has been taken to show that St. John was still sometimes regarded as having suffered martyrdom in the strict sense; but the inference has been proved by Bernard to be unnecessary.[1] Just as the calendars style St. Stephen an Apostle, so, too, they speak of St. John as a martyr in a wide sense.

No part of the evidence against the Ephesian

[1] See *The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel*, by J. Armitage Robinson, pp. 64 ff.

residence of St. John is thus very secure, and it has recently been reaffirmed by so unprejudiced a critic as Clemen, whose view of the Gospel is by no means orthodox.[1]

The result of this discussion is that there is little reason for denying that St. John may have written the Gospel, while there are very strong grounds for the traditional view. If, however, the Johannine residence in Asia is denied, the most probable alternative would be to assign the Gospel to the presbyter, identifying him with the beloved disciple, *i.e.* with Delff's John of Jerusalem. That the beloved disciple lived in Asia to a great age seems at least to be clear, since difficulties on this point must lie behind xxi. 20–23, a story which is emphasised in a manner otherwise inexplicable.

[1] *Die Entstehung des Johannesevangeliums*, 1912. Clemen holds that the author was an admirer of St. John who supplemented a tradition derived more or less directly from the Apostle, using various other sources.

VIII.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

A. Sketch of St. Paul's Life Prior to the Date of its Composition.

For the first eighteen or nineteen years of St. Paul's life as a Christian we have no written document from his pen. After his baptism, in the year 35–36 A.D.,[1] at

[1] The chronology of St. Paul's life cannot be clearly fixed. The data given in the Acts are usually vague, and are difficult to reconcile with those of Gal. i. and ii. The scheme given above may be taken as an approximate guide. Harnack and others throw all these dates several years earlier, by placing St. Paul's conversion within a year of the Crucifixion, *i.e.* in 29 or 30 A.D.

The crucial date, upon which the others depend, is that of the supersession of Felix by Festus. Until recently it was customary to assign this to 60 A.D. Ramsay moves this back to 59, Turner to 58 or 59, Harnack to 56. If 58 A.D. be accepted, 49 is the date of the Council, and, by subtracting the fourteen years of Gal. ii. 1, 35 or 36 that of the conversion. This assumes that the three years of Gal. i. 18 is included in the fourteen years of ii. 1. If this is not so the conversion is thrown three years earlier. Thus Lightfoot gives 51 A.D. for the Council and 34 for the conversion; Harnack, 47 A.D. for

Damascus (Ac. ix. 17) he spent three years in Arabia (Gal. i. 17, 18), and then made a short visit to Jerusalem (Gal. i. 18; Ac. ix. 26). From Jerusalem he went to his native city, Tarsus, in Cilicia, where he stayed, as it would seem, for some few years (to 43 A.D. ?), until Barnabas invited him to Antioch (Ac. xi. 26). From this place he made a second visit to Jerusalem (*c.* 46 A.D.), now no longer in a private capacity, but as the accredited representative of the Christian community at Antioch (Ac. xi. 30, xii. 25). On his return to Antioch he was commissioned by the Christians there to set out with Barnabas on his first missionary journey (Ac. xiii. 1–3). They started apparently in the year 47 A.D., and were absent for some months, which were spent partly in Cyprus, partly in the cities of the Southern portion of the Roman province of Galatia, namely, Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, Lystra. On their return to Antioch they spent "no little time" with the disciples there, and then in 49 A.D. were present at the Council held at Jerusalem to consider the relations of the Gentile Christians to the Mosaic Law. Shortly after their return to Antioch ("some days," Ac. xv. 36), St. Paul's thoughts turned again to the disciples whom he had left in the West, and, taking with him Silas, he set out on his second missionary journey (49–52 A.D.). The two travellers, we read, "went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches" (Ac. xv. 41). Then

the Council and 30 for the conversion. The dating given above follows that of Turner, art. "Chronology of the New Testament," in Hastings' *DB.*

we hear of visits paid to Derbe and Lystra (xvi. 1); and we may assume that among the "cities" of xvi. 4 and the "churches" of xvi. 5, Iconium and Antioch were included.

So far St. Paul had been in country familiar to him from his first journey. But from this point he breaks new ground. "They went," we are told, "through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden to speak the word in Asia" (xvi. 6). What district is here referred to is a matter of controversy. The traditional view is that by "the region of Galatia" is meant the old kingdom of Galatia, at this time included in the Roman province of that name.[1] If this view is correct, St. Paul, who on his first and the beginning of his second journey had visited the Southern part of the Roman province, now made a tour in its Northern districts. From Galatia they travelled to Troas (xvi. 8), where St. Luke seems to have joined them (note the "we" in Ac. xvi. 10), and then, leaving Asia Minor behind them, they sailed to Samothrace (xvi. 11). Thence, by way of Neapolis, they travelled to Philippi and Thessalonica. Their next halting-place was Berea, where Timothy and Silas remained (xvii. 10, 14), whilst St. Paul continued his journey to Athens (xvii. 15), arriving there probably in 50 A.D. Here Silas and Timothy overtook him, and Timothy was sent back to Thessalonica (1 Th. iii. 1, 2).[2] What happened to Silas

[1] For an account of the "South Galatian Theory," see p. 130 ff.

[2] St. Luke (Ac. xviii. 1, 5) apparently thought that Silas and Timothy had remained in Macedonia until they rejoined St. Paul

we do not know, but St. Paul continued his journey alone to Corinth, which he reached probably in 50 A.D. At Corinth he remained for eighteen months, during which he wrote the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, after Silas and Timothy had rejoined him (Ac. xviii. 5; 1 Th. iii. 6).

St. Luke tells us that the result of St. Paul's first three weeks of preaching in the synagogue at Thessalonica was the conversion of some Jews, a great multitude of Greek "God-fearers,"[1] and not a few ladies of rank (Ac. xvii. 4). Nothing is said by him of a further preaching to the Gentiles; but that the work was carried on by St. Paul for some time seems probable, both from the fact that the Philippian Church found opportunity to send help to him at least twice during his stay at Thessalonica (Ph. iv. 16), and

at Corinth, and says nothing of their visiting him at Athens. But it is not justifiable to regard so unimportant an omission as in any sense affecting our estimate of the historical accuracy of Acts.

[1] This class of "God-fearers" was evidently numerous. It is often mentioned by St. Luke (*e.g.* Ac. x. 2, 22, xiii. 43, 50, xvi. 14, xvii. 4, 17, xviii. 7). The "God-fearers" are clearly not proselytes, for whom a different term is used, but an outer circle of Gentiles who were interested in the high ideals of the synagogue worship, and who sometimes adopted parts of the Law, *e.g.* the keeping of the Sabbath, though they still retained many of their pagan ideas and customs. It was probably amongst this class that St. Paul's preaching met with most success, and the jealousy of the Jews at Thessalonica and elsewhere is thus readily explained, since they would naturally feel that he was poaching in their preserves (Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, ii. 2, 314; Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 37 ff.).

because St. Paul himself had time and occasion to work for his living while he was there (1 Th. ii. 9; 2 Th. iii. 8). The Church at Thessalonica was thus in the main made up of non-Jewish elements (1 Th. ii. 14), but its members had received the Gospel with a warmth and ardour that won for them an undying place in St. Paul's affections. Of no other Church, save only the other Macedonian Church at Philippi, does he write with such thankfulness and exultation. In none of his other letters does his language so seem to strive after an unattainable fulness of expression, with which to utter his gladness at the steadfastness of their faith and his happy pride in the fruitfulness of their Christian life. We notice, for example, his reiteration of "all," "always" (1 Th. i. 2, 7, 8, iii. 6, 9, iv. 10, v. 5; 2 Th. i. 3, ii. 13),[1] and the apologetic way in which he adds to his exhortations such phrases as "as also ye do" (1 Th. iv. 10, v. 11), "even as ye do walk" (1 Th. iv. 1). The news which he may have been receiving from Galatia about the time of the writing of these letters very possibly heightened the contrast between his Asian converts, so soon falling away from their first love, and the brilliant example of these Macedonian Churches, from which the word of the Lord was sounding forth in every place (1 Th. i. 8). The events which led to St. Paul's removal from Thessalonica are briefly described by St. Luke. The unbelieving Jews, jealous at the success of his preaching,

[1] It is possible that these passages have, in the main, rather an apologetic interest, being intended to deprecate a tendency to division in the Thessalonian Church (cf. v. 27). See p. 112.

organised a tumult against him, and lodged a formal complaint before the rulers of the city. The latter contented themselves with binding over the defendants to keep the peace, and the Christians seem to have felt compelled to send Paul and Silas out of the city, probably because their presence there would have led to renewed disturbances. St. Paul therefore withdrew to Athens, where we must suppose him to have been in constant communication with the disciples whom he had left behind. He heard, no doubt, of the progress of their faith and love, and of the rapid promulgation of the doctrine which he had planted among them (1 Th. i. 8–10). He heard also that they were suffering much persecution at the hands of their fellow-countrymen (ii. 14). He longed to revisit them, but Satan, he says, hindered him (ii. 18). This perhaps means that the pledge which he had given to the city authorities would have been violated by his return.[1] At last he sent Timothy with messages of comfort and consolation (iii. 1, 2). In the meantime he himself went to Corinth, and, when Silas and Timothy joined him there with the good news that, so far from being shaken by persecution, the faith of the Thessalonian converts was rather strengthened, he sat down to pour out his thankfulness and affection in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians.

[1] Other interpretations are possible. The phrase probably merely means that circumstances were unfavourable, and this might be accounted for by ill-health or by the state of affairs at Corinth. "Satan" cannot, in view of 2 Th. ii. 6, 7, and of St. Paul's general attitude, be taken as a term of abuse for the Roman authorities.

B. Contents.

The letter is divided into two parts, for the "finally" of iv. 1 shows clearly that the main theme is exhausted in the preceding chapters, and that whatever follows is, as it were, an afterthought or appendix, containing matter secondary in importance.[1]

(*a*) i.–iii.

With the exception of iii. 5, where St. Paul wishes to emphasise his own personal anxiety, these chapters are written in the plural number as a joint letter from Paul and Silvanus and Timothy.

After the introductory verse (i. 1) comes a passage of thanksgiving for the Christian faith and conduct of the readers (i. 2–10). Then follow two chapters, which would seem intended to confirm and comfort the readers in the persecutions to which they were exposed, by reminding them of the fact that the Apostles themselves had also suffered (ii. 2, 15), that such suffering was the common heritage of the whole Christian Church (ii. 14), and that the writers had forewarned their Thessalonian converts that if they received the Gospel they must expect to suffer persecution (iii. 4). Throughout these two chapters an apologetic, defensive tone is adopted, which can only be explained by supposing that there were at Thessalonica some who did not scruple to hint that the

[1] It is perhaps hardly necessary to point out that matters of primary interest to the modern student may have been quite unimportant side-issues to St. Paul.

Apostles preached the Gospel only to make gain out of their converts (ii. 3–6), and who perhaps contrasted the disciples and their sufferings at Thessalonica with the teachers who had contrived to save themselves by flight.

This first part closes with a prayer that the writers may soon be enabled to return to Thessalonica (iii. 11), and for the confirmation of the readers in love and holiness (iii. 12, 13). Here we might well suppose that the letter would close, but with a "finally" the writers introduce some further exhortations.

(*b*) iv., v.

1. Warning against immorality (iv. 1–8).
2. Warning against neglect of the affairs of this world (iv. 9–12).
3. Death will not exclude the Christian from the triumph of the Second Coming (iv. 13–18).
4. The duty of watchfulness (v. 1–11).
5. Exhortations to order and peace (v. 12–22).
6. Prayer, salutation, and blessing (v. 23–28).

IX.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

A. Occasion of the Letter.

Even before Timothy left Thessalonica to rejoin St. Paul at Corinth, the Thessalonian Church had been exercised about the question of the Second Coming of the Lord. Some of the converts had already died, perhaps by a martyr's death, and in writing the First Epistle, St. Paul had thought it desirable to reassure their friends, who seem to have feared that the dead would be unable to share in the joys of the kingdom (1 Th. iv. 15). But soon afterwards he heard that the matter had assumed a totally unexpected importance. Serious misconceptions existed in the Thessalonian Church, and the language of St. Paul's first letter was not calculated to improve the situation. He had dwelt upon the imminence and the unexpectedness of the Second Coming (1 Th. v. 1–4). And now certain teachers, building, perhaps, on his words (2 Th. ii. 2),[1] were proclaiming that it had actually

[1] It has often been thought that the phrase "as from us" implies a forgery which had been circulated, and St. Paul's care to

arrived (ii. 2).[1] The situation was critical, especially as St. Paul's own authority had been invoked in support of this teaching, and accordingly he writes in haste in order to make his position clear.

B. Contents.

This second letter resembles the first closely in form and structure. Like the first, it is written in the names of Paul and Silvanus and Timothy, St. Paul, however, adding with his own hand the final salutations. Like the first, also, it is divided into two parts by a "finally" (iii. 1), which suggests that the main theme of the letter is exhausted, and introduces some closing exhortations.

(*a*) The first part, after the opening introduction (i. 1, 2), passes, just as did the First Epistle, into a passage of thanksgiving (i. 3-12), now, however, not so much for the faith of the readers as evinced by their conversion, but rather for that faith as proved and tested by persecution.

Then follows, as in the First Epistle, the main topic

authenticate this letter by his own handwriting is certainly confirmatory evidence (iii. 17). But it is not easy to see how a forgery could have got so quickly into circulation, and the words may merely mean that St. Paul's language in 1 Th. had been twisted to support the heretical teaching.

[1] The phrase has been translated "is imminent," but this is not the natural meaning of the Greek. The Day of the Lord was regarded rather as a series of events than as the final Theophany in which they were to reach their climax. The false teaching at Thessalonica was probably to the effect that this final development, which was to mark the last days, had already begun.

of the letter. There the subject had been partly consolatory and partly apologetic; here it is wholly doctrinal. St. Paul wishes to set the minds of his converts at rest upon the difficult subject of the Second Coming of the Lord. There is no need, he says, for alarm or unwise speculation (ii. 2). Before the coming of the Day of the Lord must come the great final apostasy of the Jewish nation (ii. 3) and the appearance of the Antichrist (ii. 3, 4). The outbreak of this revolt is at present checked and suppressed beneath the restraining tendencies of law and order, as represented by the Imperial government (ii. 6). But, though held in check for the moment, the forces of evil are latent beneath the surface of society (ii. 7), ready, when the restraint of law as represented in the Roman Emperor shall be removed (ii. 7), to burst into activity, and only needing the genius of a great leader (ii. 8) to combine them into the final antichristian revolt. Then, and not till then, Christ should come, and destroy at one blast rebellion and Antichrist alike (ii. 8).

Then in a few impressive words the writers describe the present state of the Jewish nation, given over to error, unreceptive of the revelation of God in Christ, and doomed to destruction (ii. 10–12).

The chapter closes with renewed thanksgiving for the faith of the readers, and a prayer that they may be strengthened in faith and practice (ii. 13–17).

(*b*) At this point, as in the former letter, a "finally" introduces some additional exhortations:

1. to prayer for the progress of the Gospel (iii. 1–5);

2. to a quiet and peaceable life, in accordance with the Apostle's teaching and example (iii. 6–15).

The letter then closes with a prayer for peace, a salutation, and a blessing.

The following analysis will illustrate the close resemblance of these Epistles in point of structure:

	1 Th.	2 Th.
Introduction	i. 1.	i. 1, 2.
Thanksgiving	i. 2–10.	i. 3–12.
Chief topic of letter	ii.–iii. 10.	ii. 1–15.
Prayer	iii. 11–13.	ii. 16, 17.
Further exhortations	iv.–v. 22.	iii. 1–15.
Concluding prayer	v. 23–25.	iii. 16.
Salutation	v. 26, 27.	iii. 17.
Grace	v. 28.	iii. 18.

X.

CRITICISM AND THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS.

Only a few extreme critics have ever doubted the authenticity of 1 Th. Though there are no very early traces of the Epistle, it was accepted by Marcion, and included in the Muratorian Canon. The occasion of writing is perfectly clear, the slight apparent discrepancies with Acts[1] being wholly unimportant, and the contents are suitable to the occasion. The absence of the characteristic doctrines of St. Paul as to the Death of Christ and its relation to the Law is not unnatural in a letter written to a Church so recently founded. And, indeed, the object of the letter was not such as to make it desirable to enter upon these difficult questions. It was addressed to Gentiles (i. 9, ii. 14), who would have little interest in the Law, and was simply intended to encourage them in the midst of persecution. The circumstances were very different from those which

[1] As to the return of Timothy, and the length of St. Paul's visit to Thessalonica.

called out the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians.

One phrase alone seems to suggest a date after St. Paul's death. In speaking of the Jews, St. Paul says that "the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost" (ii. 16). This certainly has the appearance of being an allusion to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The words seem, however, to be derived from the Jewish *Testament of Levi*, and may have been quoted from that source by St. Paul himself.[1] Some scholars prefer to think them a gloss added by a Christian reader at a later date.

Far more doubt has been felt as to the Second Epistle. This is not due to lack of external attestation, since it was known to Polycarp, and probably to Justin Martyr, besides being accepted by Marcion. The difficulties are partly internal, and partly due to the curious affinities and differences between the two Epistles.

(*a*) The internal difficulties arise in connection with the Apocalyptic passage (ii. 3–10). Some critics have taken this to be an allegorical account of some form of Gnosticism,[2] and have dated the Epistle from the early years of the second century. This seems hardly probable, unless other evidence can be

[1] The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are apparently Jewish works, with Christian interpolations of the second and third centuries A.D. Dr. Charles (*Enc. Bibl.*, "Apocalyptic Literature") dates the original Jewish elements between the second century B.C. and 30 A.D.

[2] Cf. with ii. 4, the self-deification of Simon Magus, and the posthumous worship paid to Epiphanes.

produced which points in the same direction. It is far more natural to regard the passage as one of a number of forms of the "Antichrist legend," alluded to in several parts of the New Testament, and especially in the Book of the Revelation.[1] It was often thought that this took its rise in the legend, everywhere current in the latter part of the first century, that the Emperor Nero would suddenly reappear at the head of the armies of the East.[2] If this theory had been true, it would have been necessary to date the Epistle after Nero's death in 68 A.D., but it has recently been shown by Bousset that the "Antichrist legend" is quite distinct from the Nero legend, borrowing its distinctive features rather from very ancient Oriental mythology. There is therefore no reason why St. Paul should not have used the imagery of ii. 3–10 as early as the year 52 A.D.[3]

[1] Where, however, it is almost inextricably interwoven with the Nero legend. The name "Antichrist" occurs in 1 Jn. ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 Jn. 7, but not, in the New Testament, outside the Johannine Epistles. The imagery of Mt. xxiv. 15 ff. seems to be connected with this legend. Cf. also Jn. v. 43.

[2] Upon this view the "he that restraineth" of v. 7 was understood to mean Vespasian. The reference is rather to the Roman Imperial power, which alone could check a false Messiah. This is the part played by Rome in the later versions of the legend.

[3] See especially Bousset (*Enc. Bibl.*, "Antichrist"). It is possible that the special imagery of ii. 4 is connected with the attempt made by Caligula to place his image in the Temple of Jerusalem. This readily connected itself with Apocalyptic ideas, through Dan. xi. 31 (cf. Mk. xiii. 14; Mt. xxiv. 15). But Caligula cannot be identified with the "man of sin," who is rather a Jewish false Messiah, though his attempt was ominous of what should be when the man of sin appeared.

(*b*) A serious problem is raised by the comparison of the two Epistles. The close relationship in structure has already been noticed, and the similarity extends to the language and style. It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Second Epistle is intentionally based upon the First.[1]

This in itself would be curious, though perhaps not unintelligible, in two letters addressed to the same community within the space of a few weeks. But the problem becomes serious when it is noted that the first letter is addressed to Gentiles, while the second would be largely unintelligible except to a Jewish audience. Both the Apocalyptic section in the second chapter and a great part of the first chapter (vv. 5–10) are full of the language and spirit of the Old Testament. And further, the tone of the second letter is far less warmly affectionate and thankful than that of the first, although there is nothing to suggest that St. Paul's relations with his converts had become in any way strained.

Accordingly, it has been suggested that the Second Epistle was written towards the end of the first century, by a writer who wished to oppose views current at Thessalonica as to the imminence of the Second Advent. For this purpose the "Antichrist legend" was inserted in a letter drawn up upon the model of 1 Th., and the whole composition was issued as the work of St. Paul.

[1] 2 Th. ii. 1 seems to refer directly to 1 Th. iv. 17, and 2 Th. iii. 8, 9 must be a conscious repetition (and partial correction) of 1 Th. ii. 9.

The supporters of this theory admit that there is nothing specifically un-Pauline about 2 Th. itself. It is only rendered necessary by the difficulty of reconstructing the situation at Thessalonica in such a way as to render intelligible the two Epistles as genuine works of St. Paul. And this difficulty seems to have been overcome by a suggestion recently made by Harnack. This is, in effect, that there was a grave division in the Church at Thessalonica. St. Paul's early preaching in the Synagogue had won the adherence of a small body of Jewish converts. These had resented the subsequent extension of the work to the Gentiles, and refused to concede to them an equal position with themselves in the Christian community. When St. Paul wrote the First Epistle he was perhaps hoping that the breach was likely to be healed. Hence his careful instruction that the letter should " be read unto all the brethren " (1 Th. v. 27). But when the letter had been sent it occurred to him that it was hardly likely to prove acceptable to Jewish readers (cf. ii. 15, 16), and he felt it to be desirable to send a special letter to the Jewish minority in the Church of Thessalonica. This letter is our Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.[1]

[1] The principal difficulty for Harnack's theory lies in the address " unto the Church of the Thessalonians " (2 Th. i. 1). But it may well have been inadvisable to emphasise the division by addressing the minority directly. On the other hand, the theory explains the well-attested, but hitherto incomprehensible, reading, " God chose you as first-fruits " (2 Th. ii. 13), for the Jewish Christians were indeed the " first-fruits " of St. Paul's work in Thessalonica.

The importance of this theory lies not so much in its details, suggestive though these are, as in the possibilities which it opens up. Harnack has shown that the difficulty of reconstructing the conditions in the early Christian community at Thessalonica are not insuperable, and even if some details of his theory have to be modified,[1] it will no longer be possible to say that history can find no room for both the Epistles as authentic writings of St. Paul.

[1] It may, for example, be found desirable to increase the interval of time between the two Epistles. It is quite possible that, after the sending of the first letter, difficulties arose among the Jewish minority of a kind which that letter might easily aggravate, and that the second letter was sent on this account. This view would combine Harnack's hypothesis with the traditional account of the relation between the letters.

XI.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

A. The Foundation of the Church at Corinth.

St. Paul entered Corinth alone about the year 50 A.D. and spent there eighteen months, 50–52 A.D. He lodged with Aquila and Priscilla, and seems to have confined himself at first to work in the synagogue (Ac. xviii. 3, 4); but the arrival of Silas and Timothy with the good news from Thessalonica gave an impulse to his teaching which resulted in his beginning a successful work among the Gentile populace. His preaching in the synagogue, however, had not been in vain. Crispus, the Archisynagogos of the Jewish community, had been convinced, and his adhesion to the new teaching attracted many others. Thus, when St. Paul finally shook the dust of the synagogue from off his feet, and found for himself a new meeting-room adjoining the synagogue in the house of a proselyte, one Titus Justus, the progress of the new faith at Corinth seemed secured. The Jews, indeed, did their best to stamp it out. At Philippi and at Thessalonica they had at least secured the

expulsion of the Apostle from the city. Here, however, they failed even in this, and in the endeavour only brought ridicule upon themselves. The Roman proconsul refused to interfere in the matter, and the populace (or the Jews)[1] hustled and beat the new Archisynagogos before the very judgment seat.

In the year 51–52 A.D. St. Paul left Corinth, and, after touching at Ephesus, disembarked at Cæsarea. Then, after a short visit to Jerusalem,[2] he returned once more to Antioch. How long he remained there we do not know. St. Luke simply says "some time." But setting out perhaps in the year 52 A.D., he visited once more his Galatian settlements, and then journeyed to Ephesus. Here he remained for three years, and thence, in 55 or 56 A.D., he wrote the first of the two Epistles addressed to the Corinthians.

But between the time of his departure from Corinth and the writing of the Epistle much had happened there. Apollos had visited Corinth, and his preaching had proved a strong attraction to many of the Corinthian Christians. How long he remained there we do not know, but at the time of writing of 1 Co. he was with St. Paul at Ephesus (iii. 5, iv. 6, xvi. 12). Another visitor to Corinth had perhaps been St. Paul himself, who must have made a second short

[1] The "Western" text of Ac. xviii. 17 has "all the Greeks," but the best MSS have "they all," referring apparently to the Jews. So the R.V. The matter must remain obscure in our ignorance of the exact position of Sosthenes. The traditional view given above is little more than a guess. He may be the Sosthenes of 1 Co. i. 1 and have been beaten as a convert.

[2] Ac. xviii. 22, if the Church referred to is that at Jerusalem.

visit there during his residence at Ephesus (2 Co. xii. 14, xiii. 1; 1 Co. xvi. 7).[1] Soon afterwards St. Paul seems to have written a letter to the Corinthians which has not been handed down to us. 1 Co. v. 9–13 makes direct allusion to such a letter. To this letter the Corinthian community had sent a reply, containing questions to which the greater part of our First Epistle is an answer. The Corinthian letter had been brought to St. Paul by Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus, and St. Paul's answer was presumably carried back by them (1 Co. xvi. 15–18). But St. Paul had other sources of knowledge of the condition of things at Corinth besides the letter brought to him by the three delegates. From a certain Chloe who had come to Ephesus he had learned much of the party strife about which he writes so strongly (1 Co. i. 11). It is probable that it was Chloe who brought the Apostle the first news of the unhappy division at Corinth. What he heard determined him to send Timothy there (1 Co. iv. 17, xvi. 10, 11; Ac. xix. 22). But the news brought by the three delegates, and the questions of which they were the bearers demanded an immediate answer. This answer we have in the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

[1] The language of 1 Co. xvi. 7 does not necessarily imply a short second visit, so that this may perhaps have taken place between 1 Co. and 2 Co. In this case it was very probably some slighting of St. Paul's personal authority during his stay at Corinth that led him to send the severe letter which caused him such anxiety (2 Co. vii. 5).

B. Occasion of the Letter.

When St. Paul wrote to the Church of Thessalonica it was exposed to persecution, and in danger of succumbing to it. When, a few months later, he wrote to the Churches of Galatia, they seemed to be on the point of making a retrograde movement towards Judaism, and to be yielding to the fascination of a new teaching hostile to that of their founder. When, in 55 or 56 A.D., he writes for the second time to the community at Corinth, he saw it, as he thought, beset by dangers more complex and subtle than persecution or heterodox teaching alone,—dangers which in part were due to the very prosperity of the Church, but which were none the less undermining the religious life, and dividing it into arrogant and self-assertive factions. Of the causes that fostered these dangerous elements in the Corinthian Church, three call for special attention:

(*a*) There was the danger of religious faction, due in the first instance to the arrival and preaching of Apollos at Corinth. Not that Apollos himself was to blame. He seems to have left Corinth before his name became a party watchword; and the fact that St. Paul could urge him to return (1 Co. xvi. 12) shows that they were agreed about the state of things there. But there were some who seem to have set so high a value upon the scholarly and learned element in the preaching of Apollos that they began to pride themselves on their connection with him, to depreciate the studiously

simple and unliterary form which St. Paul's teaching had taken, and to look down upon those members of the Church who still held St. Paul's name in reverence. Matters were not improved by the introduction of a new name into the controversy. If the Petrine party are those to whom allusion is so frequently made in the Second Epistle, they may have been Christians who had come to Corinth from Palestine, and boasted that they had received their faith from one of the first Apostles of the Lord.[1]

Who the Christ party were we can only guess.[2] It seems not improbable that they were such as were weary of hearing one Apostle set against another, one teacher overpraised, and another unduly depreciated, and preferred to call themselves simply by the name of Christ. If so, a name, taken perhaps from the best motives, may well have become a badge of arrogance and conceit. The introduction of a new watchword did but increase disunion rather than make for unity. It added to St. Paul's difficulties, and helped to postpone the time of

[1] It is by no means unlikely that St. Peter himself had actually visited Corinth by this time.

[2] Many attempts have been made to dispose of the words, "I am of Christ" (i. 12). Some have cut them out as a pious gloss. Some have taken them as an ejaculation by St. Paul himself. An ingenious but very unconvincing suggestion is to read "Crispus" for "Christ." Baur's theory that there are only two parties mentioned, the Paul-Apollos party and the Peter-Christ party, is now generally given up. And it does not seem likely that there could be a sufficient number of original disciples of the Lord at Corinth to form a separate "Christ-party." 2 Co. x. 7 suggests that it may be against this party that 2 Cor. x.–xiii. are directed.

the reacknowledgment of his rightful authority at Corinth. And it came to be connected with an isolated, haughty assertion of independence, which tended to forget that all the Christian communities, whether in Asia or in Europe, were one body in Christ, and that there had been Christian Societies before ever St. Paul had set foot in Corinth.

(*b*) Side by side with this tendency to intellectual self-assertion and boastful factiousness there was a tendency to claim a freedom from restraint in the moral life. The Christian community at Corinth was, it must be remembered, a large one, the members of which were drawn from very different social levels. All around them surged the pagan life, with its immorality, its idolatry, its social customs, its pleasures. The new society had not been exposed here, as elsewhere, to the invigorating, strengthening, purifying test of persecution. Its members lived on terms of friendship with their heathen neighbours, and there seems to have been at work the subtle and deceptive tendency to soften, as much as possible, the sharp contrast between the old heathen and the new Christian life, to see how far Christian principles could be stretched to cover heathen customs which were in themselves harmless, to push to its widest limits the truth of Christian liberty. This liberal tendency found expression in many departments of life. There was, *e.g.*, the question of the relations of the sexes. St. Paul finds it necessary to emphasise the sinfulness of fornication (vi. 15–20). He notes with sorrow the

existence, apparently disregarded by the Corinthian Christians themselves, of a case of incest (v. 1–13). Again, there was the question of intercourse with unbelievers. Some saw no harm in accepting invitations from their heathen friends, even when the meal was in a heathen temple and the meat set before them had previously been offered to the idol (x. 27). Others carried their quarrels into the heathen law-courts (vi. 1).

Connected perhaps with this tendency to break down the restrictions placed by Christian principle upon the moral and social life, are the signs of attempts made in some quarters by Christian women to emancipate themselves from customs which had implied their subjection to the other sex (xi. 2–16, xiv. 34–36).

And this encroachment of pagan custom into the Christian life had its parallel in the encroachment of heathen thought upon Christian doctrine. Some there were who began to allow themselves to doubt the reality of a bodily resurrection (xv.). And the laxity of some in such matters naturally led others, by a sharp recoil, into over-scrupulousness. It would seem that some began to doubt the lawfulness of marriage (vii. 2), or to place undue restrictions upon married life (vii. 3–5). Others showed a disposition to withhold their daughters from marriage (vii. 36, 37),[1] and others to deny the lawfulness of second marriage (vii. 39).

[1] This passage, in spite of grammatical difficulties, is commonly taken to refer to the duties of parents or guardians. It may,

(*c*) Another source of danger, connected, not so much, as in the first case, with the intellectual, nor, as in the second, with the moral, but rather with the spiritual sphere of life, arose from the rich endowment of the Corinthian Church with Spiritual gifts. This led on the one hand to pride and conceit, and on the other to dissensions; for whilst some, *e.g.*, were tempted to regard with suspicion the gift of speaking with tongues, others exalted it above all the signs of the Holy Spirit's presence.[1]

C. Analysis.

i. 1–3. Introduction.

i. 4–9. Thanksgiving.

(*A*) Rebukes, i–vi.

i. 10–iv. 21. Rebuke of the tendency to party division.

(*a*) The facts (i. 10–13).

however, allude to a custom not uncommon in the later Church, when unmarried men and women would frequently live together, in order to prove themselves strong enough to resist any temptation to break their vow of chastity. Cf. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 184–191.

[1] The "speaking with tongues" has occasioned much difficulty. The phenomenon is perhaps, though not necessarily, the same as that recorded of the Day of Pentecost (Ac. ii. 4, 11). The fact that the "tongues" might be interpreted suggests foreign languages, but it is clear that the utterances were not always comprehensible to the speakers themselves (xiv. 13–15). They were probably ecstatic in character, like those associated with revivals of all periods, in which it is not infrequent for those affected to utter phrases, or even connected sayings, in other languages than their own. Cf. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 241–252.

(*b*) This party spirit found no support in St. Paul's own example (i. 14–17).

(*c*) Defence of St. Paul's conduct in avoiding the rhetorical element in preaching which was so overestimated by some (i. 18–iii. 4).

1. The first preaching of the Gospel must always be simple and direct (i. 18–25).

2. For it is not the wise of this world that are called first (i. 26–31).

3. St. Paul's preaching at Corinth had obeyed this law (ii. 1–5).

4. For advanced Christians more profound teaching was needed (ii. 6–16).

5. But the slow progress of the Corinthians had prevented St. Paul from making use of such teaching (iii. 1–4).

(*d*) The absurdity of the party spirit (iii. 5–23).

1. The men whose names are made party watchwords are all alike under God (iii. 5–15).

2. The Church is the temple of God (iii. 16, 17).

3. All Christians possess, not merely Paul or Apollos, but all things (iii. 18–23).

(*e*) St. Paul's disregard of the judgments of these partisans (iv. 1–5).

(*f*) Their arrogance (iv. 6–13).

(*g*) Final appeal and warning (iv. 14–21).

v. 1–13, vi. 12–20. Rebuke of the tendency to a loose moral standard of life.

vi. 1–11. Rebuke of those who sued in heathen law-courts.

(*B*) Answers to the questions from the Corinthian Church, vii.–xvi.

(*a*) vii. On marriage, and allied questions.

(*b*) viii.–xi. 1. On the eating of things offered to idols.

1. The Christian is free, but must think of others (viii.).

2. St. Paul's own example (ix.).

3. The danger of participating in sacrifices to devils (x. 1–22).

4. The law of liberty (x. 23–xi. 1).

(*c*) xi. 2–16. Women to worship veiled.

(*d*) xi. 17–34. The Lord's Supper.

(*e*) xii.–xiv. On Spiritual Gifts.

1. All gifts meet in the unity of the Church (xii.).

2. Love is the highest gift (xiii.).

3. Preaching is a higher gift than speaking with tongues (xiv.).

(*f*) xv. A discourse on the Resurrection.

(*g*) xvi. Other matters.

1. The collection for the poor at Jerusalem (xvi. 1–4).

2. Personal matters (xvi. 5–18).

3. Salutations (xvi. 19-24).

XII.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

A. Occasion.

Soon after the dispatch of the Apostle's second letter (*i.e.* 1 Co.), he found it necessary to send Titus to Corinth with another lost letter (ii. 4, vii. 8, 9, which cannot well refer to our present First Epistle). This letter was due to some direct attack upon his right to exercise authority (iii. 1, v. 12 ; cf. x–xiii).[1] St. Paul wrote under the stress of strong personal feeling, and was much troubled in mind after the departure of Titus, fearing that the vehement language which he had used might do more harm than good (vii. 5). Before Titus returned St. Paul himself was compelled to leave Ephesus (Ac. xx. 1). He travelled first to Troas, and encountered on the way a danger to life,

[1] Cf. n., p. 129. It does not seem possible to identify this severe letter with 1 Co., the tone of which is restrained throughout. The strongest passages in it could hardly have caused St. Paul such keen anxiety. The close of 2 Co. itself is far more passionate and severe. And it is noticeable that, while 1 Co. speaks of a coming visit from Timothy, it was not for Timothy but for Titus that St. Paul waited in such distress of mind.

from which it seemed at one time hopeless that he could be delivered (i. 9, 10). At Troas he had hoped to find Titus with news from Corinth, but in this he was disappointed, and, in great distress of mind, he journeyed forward into Macedonia (ii. 13). Here Titus at last met him, bringing with him good news (vii. 6). The offender, of whom St. Paul had found it necessary to speak so sharply in his last letter, had been punished (ii. 6). St. Paul's right to intervene had been recognised, and the Apostle can state broadly his feeling of satisfaction at the turn things have taken (vii. 16). He had it in mind to journey to Corinth himself, and, indeed, was on his way there (xii. 14, xiii. 1), but there seemed to be sufficient reason for sending a letter to prepare the way for his coming. Some irritation was felt at Corinth at a change in St. Paul's plans with regard to a visit which he had promised to make there, and St. Paul felt it only courteous to explain the motives for his apparent inconstancy (i. 15–17). Again, the Macedonians had been stirred by St. Paul's presence among them into an enthusiastic and generous participation in the collection which the Apostle was making for the poor at Jerusalem. He had spoken much of what was being done at Corinth in the matter (ix. 2), and he wishes the Corinthians to have their contributions ready against his arrival, lest when he came to Corinth the Macedonians who accompanied him should find that the much-vaunted Corinthian collection was after all inadequate or uncollected (ix. 3–5).

And, lastly, thankful though the Apostle was for

the submission of the Corinthian community to his authority, he yet had much to fear from the influence of some there who, coming from a distance (x. 13–17), were endeavouring to supplant him, and to wean from him the affections of his converts. The last part of the letter is devoted to a scathing denunciation of these intruders. They ridiculed him for his mildness when present at Corinth, as compared with the severity shown in his letters (x. 1, 10). They mocked the simplicity of his teaching (xi. 6). They insinuated the worst motives for his refusal to receive a stipend for his work at Corinth (xi. 7–12). They sneered at his claims to Apostleship (xii. 11–12). Of these men the Apostle speaks in no measured terms. He compares them to the serpent which beguiled Eve (xi. 3). They are false apostles, evil workers, agents of Satan (xi. 13–15).

It should be noticed that this letter is written in the name of Paul and Timothy, and is addressed not only to the Church at Corinth, but to " all the saints which are in the whole of Achaia " (i. 1). Titus, as he passed through Achaia with the letter, on his way to Corinth, would doubtless communicate its contents to the Christian communities scattered throughout the province, and especially that portion of it which referred to the collection for the poor at Jerusalem.

The emphatic way in which St. Paul asserts the last three chapters to be more especially his own contribution to the letter should be noticed (cf. x. 1, " I Paul myself.")

B. Analysis.

i. 1, 2. Introduction.

i. 3–11. Thanksgiving.

(*A*) i. 12–vii. A thankful retrospect of past events.

1. The postponed visit (i. 12–22).

2. The letter that was sent instead (i. 23–ii. 11).

3. Thanksgiving for the good news at last brought by Titus (ii. 12–17).

4. The glory of the ministry of the Gospel (iii.).

5. Strength made perfect in affliction (iv.).

6. The promise of eternal life (v. 1–10).

7. The new life in Christ (v. 11–19).

8. The ministry of suffering (v. 20–vi. 10).

9. Final expression of St. Paul's joy at the news brought by Titus, with a digression on marriages with unbelievers (vi. 11–vii.).

(*B*) viii., ix. The collection for the poor at Jerusalem.

(*C*) x.–xiii. St. Paul's opponents at Corinth.

1. A warning to those who are attempting to undermine St. Paul's authority (x.).

2. How St. Paul had earned his Apostleship (xi.).

3. His vision (xii. 1–10).

4. His treatment of the Corinthians (xii. 11–18).

5. Final warning and farewell (xii. 19–xiii.).

XIII.

CRITICISM AND THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

Only a few extremists have ever ventured to doubt that 1 and 2 Co. are the work of St. Paul. They were well known in early Christian literature, though it is curious that Clement of Rome, who definitely quotes the First Epistle, does not allude to the Second. And the natural force and life of the letters themselves places them beyond dispute.

There has, however, been much discussion as to whether the letters are now in their original form. In the case of 1 Co. partition theories have not met with much success.[1] But many scholars have found it impossible to believe that the Second Epistle can have been sent in its present shape. In the first nine chapters St. Paul is filled with thanksgiving and love. The Corinthian Church has done all and more than he had asked. The offender whom they had sheltered

[1] It has been noted that St. Paul takes different standpoints in x. 1–22 and in viii. x. 23 ff. But in the latter case he is arguing from the presuppositions of his opponents; in the former he speaks out what is in his own mind.

had now been punished with such severity that St. Paul has to remind them of the danger of going too far in their zeal (ii. 6, 7). The last four chapters, on the other hand, contain an attack upon those who had impugned St. Paul's authority, an attack clearly written at a very high nervous tension, and couched in the most powerful and passionate language. It is perhaps psychologically possible that St. Paul added this section a few days after the rest of the letter was written, at a time when his feelings were deeply stirred at the thought of certain opponents who had not joined in the general submission of the Corinthian Church.[1] But it certainly helps towards an understanding of the history to suppose that these chapters are in reality a part of the lost letter which was carried by Titus. They would explain St. Paul's anxiety and subsequent relief. And, indeed, if these chapters formed part of St. Paul's eirenicon, it is hard to conceive what must have been the tone of his severe letter.[2]

It should be noted that there is no external or MS. evidence to support this theory, which rests entirely on internal grounds.[3]

[1] But xiii. 2 certainly seems to involve all the Corinthian Church.

[2] The objection that xii. 18 alludes to the visit of Titus as already accomplished does not seem to have much weight. It is not necessary to suppose that Titus conveyed the severe letter. He may have been at Corinth on business connected with the collection when that letter arrived. Or, if he carried the letter, it may easily have been a second visit.

[3] It is often thought that vi. 14–vii. 1, which seems to have no purpose in its present context, is a fragment of an earlier letter, perhaps that alluded to in 1 Co. v. 9–13.

XIV.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

A. To Whom was the Epistle Addressed? [1]

According to Ac. xvi. 6, St. Paul, after visiting the Churches founded by him on his first missionary tour, "went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia." This sentence has occasioned a very considerable controversy in recent years. The traditional view is that St. Paul passed through the southern portion of the Roman province of Galatia, including the cities of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, until he reached the border of the province of Asia. He then turned northwards through Phrygia, and thence made a long detour through the ancient kingdom of Galatia, which formed the northern portion of the Roman province of that name. Finally, passing below Bithynia and Mysia, he reached

[1] It has been thought desirable to give some discussion of the larger problem raised by Ac. xvi. 6. This is too often confused with the question of the destination of the Epistle. The solutions of the two problems are not necessarily the same, though the solution of the first clears the ground for that of the second.

Troas, and thence crossed over to Europe. On this view, Ac. xviii. 23, which records how St. Paul began his third journey by passing through the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, alludes to a second visit to this same region, and it has been customary to regard the Epistle to the Galatians as addressed to the Churches founded by him during these two visits.

It is certainly not very easy to avoid the conclusion that at Ac. xvi. 6 St. Luke marks a new departure. The preaching in South Galatia is carried up to the borders of Asia. There a check is experienced, and St. Paul passes on to a new district, which can also be called in some sense "Galatian." Bishop Lightfoot argued that the Greek of Ac. xvi. 6 could only mean "the Phrygo-Galatic region," and explained this to mean the district which had once been Phrygia, but which had become Galatia upon its conquest by the Galati.[1] It is not surprising that most modern defenders of the North Galatian hypothesis have refused to ascribe this piece of pedantry to St. Luke, and prefer, in spite of some grammatical difficulty, to translate "went through Phrygia and the region of Galatia." [2]

[1] The invasion began about 278 B.C.

[2] The phrase is *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*. It is asserted (*e.g.* by Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 257) that if two districts are intended a second *τὴν* would be necessary (as in some later MSS). Moffatt (*Introduction to New Testament*, p. 93) disputes this on the analogy of Ac. xix. 21, xxvii. 5, but the analogy is not perfect, since in these cases the omission of the *τὴν* causes no ambiguity. In spite of strong assertions on both sides the point can hardly be regarded as settled. The reversed order, *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*, in Ac. xviii. 23 rather favours the

The discussion entered upon a new phase with the work of Sir W. M. Ramsay, who followed Lightfoot as to the grammatical point, but argued that the "Phrygo-Galatic region" must mean the region which is both Galatian (*i.e.* in the Roman province of Galatia) and Phrygian (*i.e.* in the area still locally known as Phrygia). The only district answering this description was that in the neighbourhood of Pisidian Antioch, in South Galatia. Accordingly, Ramsay suggested that Ac. xvi. 6 simply recapitulates xvi. 1–5, and that the participle "being forbidden" contains no note of time at all. Upon this view Ac. xvi. contains no allusion to North Galatia, and, as Ac. xviii. may refer to the southern part of the province as easily as to the northern,[1] no reference to the latter district remains in St. Luke's narrative.

Many modern scholars have accepted Ramsay's conclusion, though not in all its details. Reference to a map shows that his forced interpretation of the participle in Ac. xvi. 6 is unnecessary. From Iconium the province of Galatia runs in a long tongue beyond Pisidian Antioch, to the south of the Phrygian districts of the province of Asia. St. Paul may well have intended to proceed from Iconium into Asia. This plan was "forbidden" by the Spirit, and accordingly St. Paul went on to visit his converts in this south-western tongue of Galatia. As this district

view that two districts are intended, being mentioned in each case in the order in which St. Paul visited them.

[1] In fact more easily. The natural route through the Cilician Gates to Ephesus ran through South Galatia.

was also Phrygian, St. Luke's description of it is apt and accurate, and it is hard to see what other phrase he could have used. When St. Paul reached Antioch a road led due north in the direction of Bithynia, and this part of Galatia might also be said to be "over against Mysia" (xvi. 7), being its nearest district to that country. St. Paul, it may be supposed, took this northward road, but branched off to Troas before reaching the border of Bithynia.

This theory has the great advantage that it avoids making St. Paul go off upon an inexplicable detour over exceedingly difficult country, and brings him, without any very serious gap in the narrative, into the neighbourhood of Mysia. Modern defenders of the North Galatian hypothesis usually try to diminish this main difficulty of their theory by making St. Paul visit only the extreme West of North Galatia, and there found a few unimportant Churches. Some, however, still maintain Lightfoot's view that St. Paul went as far East as Ancyra, and even Tavium and Pteria.

If the South Galatian theory be adopted, it is clear that the Epistle was addressed to the Churches founded by St. Paul on his first journey. And the scanty indications given by the letter itself agree with this supposition. The address to the "Galatians," which has been thought by some to be only appropriate to members of the ancient kingdom of Galatia, was perhaps the only one which St. Paul could have used to cover the whole of the Churches, Lycaonian, Pisidian, and Phrygian, to which he was writing. All alike were attached to the province

of Galatia, and the name would rise readily to the lips of a Roman citizen. The allusions to Barnabas would be understood in South Galatia, where he had preached. And the "infirmity of the flesh" (Gal. iv. 13) which led to St. Paul's first visit may, as Ramsay suggests, have been a malarial fever caught in the lowlands about Perga on the first journey. The highlands round Antioch would suit an invalid well.

Upon the North Galatian theory of Ac. xvi. 6 the question of the destination of the letter becomes more open. But it is still probable, upon the whole, that it was addressed to the Churches of South Galatia.[1] The alternative theory asks us to believe that it was on account of sickness that St. Paul undertook the long and difficult journey into North Galatia. The allusions to Barnabas lose something of their point if the letter is addressed to Churches which had not known him personally. And, in general, it is far more natural to connect the letter, and also the allusion of 1 Cor. xvi. 1, with the Churches of South Galatia, over which St. Paul spent so much trouble, than with a remote district, the evangelisation of which St. Luke hardly thinks it worth while to record.[2]

[1] The fact that the letter was probably, in any case, addressed to South Galatia is in itself some evidence towards the South Galatian interpretation of Ac. xvi. 6.

[2] It is of course true that the Epistle to the Colossians is addressed to a Church the foundation of which is not recorded at all. This, however, hardly affects the probability that the Galatian Churches to which St. Paul writes are identical with the only Galatian Churches of which we have any definite knowledge, namely, those of South Galatia

B. Position of Things in the Churches of Galatia between St. Paul's second Visit and the Writing of the Letter.

When the Apostle made his second tour through Galatia the future progress of his teaching seemed everywhere secured (Ac. xvi. 5).[1] But, shortly after his departure, an element of discord was introduced from without which bade fair to destroy this influence.

There arrived in Galatia Jewish-Christian teachers, who probably came originally from Jerusalem, and who began an organised and determined attack upon St. Paul and upon the Gospel as conceived and taught by him. That there were several such interlopers is certain from Gal. i. 7. That they came from without and were not members of the Christian communities in Galatia itself seems to be proved by the whole tenor of the letter.

Their teaching seems to have run upon two lines. In the first place, they gave the Galatian Christians to understand that Christianity was a development of Judaism, and that, though it introduced much that was new, it by no means did away with the distinctive rites of the Jewish religion as formulated by the Pharisees. It followed that the Mosaic Law (iii. 2–29, iv. 21) with all its rites and ceremonies (iv. 10), and above all, its initiatory rite of circumcision (v. 2, vi. 12), was binding upon all Christians.

[1] Assuming the "South Galatian" hypothesis as to the destination of the Epistle.

Only through the gate of Judaism could Gentile converts enter the kingdom of God.

In reply to this it would naturally occur to the Galatian Christians to answer that Christianity, as presented to them by their first founder, had known nothing of these Jewish fences to Christianity. But the new teachers were prepared for this, and proceeded to open an attack upon the personality of St. Paul, which seems to have swept the Galatian Christians in numbers from their allegiance to him. They urged that St. Paul, who called himself an Apostle, had received his doctrine and his commission from the first Apostles of the faith at Jerusalem (cf. i. 1, 12, 17, 19, ii. 6), and insinuated that in his teaching about the relations of Gentiles to the Law he had been false to doctrine and commission alike. They further alleged against him inconsistency in his conduct and a time-serving pliancy to win converts (i. 10, v. 2), which must have told with great effect amongst a people who remembered how, on his last visit to them, the Apostle had circumcised Timothy at Lystra (Ac. xvi. 3).

The success of this crusade against Pauline Christianity seems to have been rapid and widespread. St. Paul, writing from Corinth some months only after his departure from Galatia, writes as though the new teaching had affected the whole Galatian Church (note the "you" in i. 6, iii. 1, iv. 6, and throughout the letter), and laments the rapidity of its growth (i. 6). He speaks of it as a fascination which has blinded the eyes of his Galatian converts

(iii. 1). He contrasts their former enthusiastic affection with the present feeling of enmity towards him (iv. 16). He writes as though he felt that, after all, pen and ink were poor weapons with which to encounter the seductive teaching of his opponents. Had not distance made it impossible, he would fain have tried the effect of his own personal appearance in the arena of debate (iv. 20).

C. Date and Place of Writing.

It appears from iv. 13 that at the time of writing St. Paul had already visited his readers twice. It is further suggested by i. 6 that the apostasy of the Galatians had occurred not long after their conversion. The clue thus given as to the date of the letter is unfortunately confused by the fact that neither of these passages is of very clear interpretation, and by the uncertainty which exists as to the situation of the Churches to which St. Paul is writing.

(*a*) On the North Galatian hypothesis the difficulty is not very great. The second visit to Galatia is obviously that of Ac. xviii. 23, and it is natural to date the letter *c.* 56 A.D., *i.e.* either from Ephesus, during the two years which St. Paul spent there, or from Corinth. The latter is perhaps rendered the more probable by the strong literary and doctrinal resemblances which exist between this letter and the Epistle to the Romans, which was apparently sent from Cenchreae, the port of Corinth (Rom. xvi. 1).

(*b*) On the South Galatian hypothesis the problem

is not so simple. The obvious solution is to take the visit recorded in Ac. xvi. 1–5 as St. Paul's second visit. In this case it is most natural to date the Epistle from the period of eighteen months which St. Paul spent at Corinth, 50–51 A.D. The fact that no mention is made in the letter of Silas and Timothy points to a time when these two fellow-workers of the Apostle were absent from him, for Silas had been with St. Paul on his second visit to Galatia, and Timothy was well known to the Christians in Lystra and Derbe. But it is hardly possible that the Epistle can have been written immediately upon St. Paul's arrival, since an allowance of some little time must be made for St. Paul to have gathered a band of adherents round him at Corinth (Gal. i. 2), as well as for the arrival of the false teachers in Galatia, and for the journey of messengers to Corinth with news of their widespread success. It would therefore probably be best to date the letter after 1 and 2 Th., and to suppose that Silas and Timothy did not remain with St. Paul during the whole of his stay in Corinth.

Other solutions have, however, been given. The Greek of iv. 13 need not necessarily imply that there had been two visits to Galatia rather than one or three.[1] And the language of i. 6 is too vague to bear much stress.[2] Accordingly, some scholars have

[1] "The first time" need not mean the first of two visits, *τὸ πρότερον* is used quite loosely in late Greek. The word occurs eleven times in the New Testament, and in no case can the strict classical usage be pressed.

[2] The "quickly" may refer simply to the rapidity with which the new propaganda spread.

felt that the determining factor must be the close relation which undoubtedly exists between this Epistle and that to the Romans,[1] and so assign it to St. Paul's stay at Ephesus, or perhaps at Corinth, during the third missionary journey, *c.* 56 A.D. This dating has the advantage that it separates Gal. from 1 and 2 Th. by a considerable interval, thereby certainly rendering the dissimilarity more intelligible.

It has, however, been argued that no argument from stylistic or doctrinal development can be applied, since St. Paul had been teaching for at least fourteen years when this Epistle and those to the Thessalonians were written. And it is clear that the circumstances which called the letters forth were so different that wide differences in their contents might well be expected. It is this that makes it possible, as above, to date Galatians from St. Paul's stay at Corinth on his second journey.

But the question arises whether the Epistle may not be earlier still, the first, in fact, of the extant letters of St. Paul. It is certainly very strange that there should be no allusion in the letter to the Apostolic Decree issued by the Council of Jerusalem just before the second missionary journey (Ac. xv.). This decree practically freed the Gentile converts from all

[1] The Epistle to the Romans is a finished treatise working out the ideas embodied in Galatians. Cf. especially the use made of the promise to Abraham (Ro. iv. and Gal. iii.), the conception of true sonship (Ro. viii. 14–17 and Gal. iv. 1–7), the relation of the Law to sin (Ro. vii. 7–13 and Gal. iii. 21, 22).

obligation to keep the Law of Moses,[1] and St. Paul made his second visit to Galatia with the express purpose of making the decision known there (Ac. xvi. 4). If the Epistle is a reply to teachers who were trying to undo the work of the Council, it is difficult to understand St. Paul's failure to defend the Decree upon which his whole case rested.[2]

It has therefore been suggested that the Epistle was written before the Council, in 48 or 49 A.D., during the "no little time" that St. Paul spent at Antioch at the close of his first missionary journey (Ac. xiv. 28).

This period was occupied in disputes with Judaising teachers, who preached the necessity of circumcision (Ac. xv. 1, 2), a fact which provides just the background necessary to an understanding of the Epistle. It is no serious objection to this theory that it takes the Greek of Gal. iv. 13 rather loosely, though some have avoided this by noting that St. Paul visited each of the Galatian Churches twice on his first tour (Ac. xiv. 21). But very serious problems now arise as to the chronology of St. Paul's life, which is largely based on Gal. i. and ii.

It has always been difficult to harmonise these two

[1] The diversity of opinion as to the exact form of the Decree, due to the "Western" variants for Ac. xv. 20, does not affect the point at issue here.

[2] It is, of course, possible to argue that St. Paul cared little about the Decree, and, in fact, preferred to ignore it. This would suit his evident desire in Galatians to prove that he was responsible to God alone for what he taught. But if this is so, Ac. xvi. 4 can hardly be historical, and Ac. xv. as a whole comes rather under suspicion.

chapters with the narrative of Acts. St. Paul is arguing that he owes his Gospel not to "them which were apostles before me" (Gal. i. 17), but to God, and accordingly he recounts what had happened on his previous visits to Jerusalem. The first visit (Gal. i. 18, 19) is clearly identical, in spite of some minor divergences, with that of Ac. ix. 26–30. The next visit mentioned (Gal. ii. 1–10) has usually been identified with that recorded in Ac. xv., during which the Council took place. This view has obvious difficulties.

1. The narratives of Ac. xv. and Gal. ii. differ in almost every particular. It is true that the latter may refer to the private discussions which preceded the Council, but, apart from other considerations, no one could have supposed that the two accounts describe one and the same visit.[1]

2. It is curious, in view of his argument, that St. Paul says nothing of the "famine visit" of Ac. xi. 30, xii. 25. Possibly, however, having mentioned the one visit that preceded his first preaching in Galatia, St. Paul felt under no obligation to record all his subsequent visits.[2]

3. It has been pointed out that St. Peter's conduct recorded in Gal. ii. 12 would have been very strange after the Council. This objection has, however, little

[1] The general fact, however, remains. that both visits are connected with the Gentile controversy in an acute form. The question as to the circumcision of Titus (whether this actually took place or not) seems hardly likely to have arisen as early as the "famine visit."

[2] Or he may only have wished to mention visits impugned by his opponents.

weight, since St. Paul is not necessarily adhering to chronological order. St. Peter's visit to Antioch is probably connected with the events of Ac. xv. 1, 2, which were the immediate occasion of the Council.[1]

Those who maintain the early date for the Epistle accordingly identify the visit of Gal. ii. 1–10 with the "famine visit," of which the account in Acts is too brief to contain any points of divergence from that in Galatians.[2] This view would be exceedingly attractive were it not for Gal. ii. 1. This certainly seems to imply that the second visit was fourteen years after the first, and so seventeen years after St. Paul's conversion. If the "famine visit" is dated 46 A.D., as seems most probable, this would throw St. Paul's conversion back to 30 A.D., a date perilously near the Crucifixion. Harnack and others have, however, taken this view. The difficulty may perhaps be avoided by supposing that the "fourteen years" of Gal. ii. 1 includes the "three years" of Gal. i. 18. This would give 33 or 34 A.D. as the date of St. Paul's conversion, thus allowing quite sufficient time for the development of the Church as recorded in the early chapters of Acts.

[1] This is denied, *e.g.*, by Moffatt (*Introduction to New Testament*, p. 101), who regards the Antioch incident as the climax of the "triumphant assertion of the free Christian rights belonging to Gentile converts."

[2] Some have argued that there would have been no need for the Council of Ac. xv. if St. Paul had already come to an agreement with the Apostles in 46 A.D. But the agreement in Gal. ii. has nothing to do with the conditions to be imposed on Gentile converts.

A further serious difficulty for the early date is found in the circumcision of Timothy (Ac. xvi. 3). It seems almost incredible that St. Paul should have made such a concession to Jewish prejudices in the very district to which he had just addressed Gal. v. 1.

It is probably not possible to decide finally between the above views. Clear evidence is not forthcoming, and the probabilities suggested by the resemblance to Romans and by the absence of allusions to the Apostolic Decree will appeal with different weight to minds of different type.

D. Analysis.

i. 1–5. Introduction.

(*A*) The Occasion of the Letter.

i. 6–10. St. Paul states his astonishment at the rapid defection of the Galatians from the Gospel as he had taught it to them.

(*B*) The Apostle's defence of himself, i. 11–ii. 21.

St. Paul rebuts the attacks of the Judaising teachers upon himself as one who had falsified a doctrine which he had received from the Twelve, by showing from a brief sketch of the first few years of his Christian life that

(*a*) the Gospel had come to him by direct revelation, without any communication with the other Apostles (i. 11–24);

(*b*) at the same time it was in complete accord

with the Apostolic doctrine, and had received the sanction of the Apostles of the Circumcision on the first occasion when he explained his position to them (ii. 1–10);

(*c*) not he himself, but they who, like St. Peter at Antioch, fell back upon Judaism after receiving Christianity, were guilty of inconsistency and faithlessness to principle (ii. 11–21).

(*C*) Faith and the Law, iii. 1–v. 2.

St. Paul next proceeds to attack the teaching of his opponents by a statement of his own position with regard to the relationship between Christianity and the Mosaic Law.

(*a*) It was by Faith, not by the Law, that the Spirit was given (iii. 1–5).

(*b*) Faith finds its anticipation in the Old Testament, in the faith of Abraham, and the faithful inherit the blessings promised to Abraham (iii. 6–9).

(*c*) The Law imposes a curse, but Faith removes it, and the faithful inherit not the curse but the promise (iii. 10–14).

(*d*) The Law with its curse is inferior to Faith which inherits the promises, for the Law is

(1) posterior to the promise in point of time (iii. 15–17);

(2) inferior to it in point of function (because the inheritance was given by promise, whereas the Law was only introduced afterwards to throw into sharp relief the transgression of the people to whom the promise had been made) (iii. 18, 19[a]);

(3) inferior to it in point of method of revelation (iii. 19^{b}–22);

(4) inferior to it as being a temporary state of discipline which passed away when Faith, towards which it pointed, came (iii. 23–29);

(5) inferior to it as being a state of tutelage equivalent to slavery (iv. 1–7).

[Parenthetic personal appeal (iv. 8–20).]

(*e*) The relation of Christianity to the Law summed up under the form of an allegory.

The Law, the Old Covenant, which was given in Sinai in Arabia, the country of Hagar, together with its mother city, the earthly Jerusalem, may be represented by Hagar, a bondwoman, the mother of a slave-boy (=the adherents of the Law). Faith, the New Covenant, is represented rather by Sarah, the mother by Divine promise of Isaac the rightful heir, and has its true home, not, as the Law, in the earthly, but rather in the heavenly Jerusalem. Just as Ishmael for a time persecuted Isaac, but was then cast forth that Isaac might come to his inheritance, so the Law was destined to give way to Faith, and the adherents of the Law to the heirs of Faith, though for a time the former persecute the latter (iv. 21–v. 1).

(*D*) Exhortations to the life of the Spirit, v. 2–vi. 10.

(*a*) The danger of submitting to circumcision (v. 2–12).

(*b*) The danger of the abuse of liberty (v. 13–15).

(*c*) The danger of the works of the flesh (v. 16–26).
(*d*) The danger of spiritual pride (vi. 1–5).
(*e*) The duty of well-doing (vi. 6–10).

(*E*) Autograph postscript, vi. 11–18.

E. Criticism and the Epistle to the Galatians.

The Epistle was known to Justin, and almost certainly to Polycarp, and is found in the Canon of Marcion and the Muratorian Fragment. It has been almost universally accepted by critics as the work of St. Paul.

XV.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

A. Occasion and Date.

During his third missionary journey the restless and fertile mind of St. Paul seems to have been planning an expedition which should carry him beyond the limits which he had reached on his previous journey. Whilst at Ephesus, about 55 A.D., "Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome" (Ac. xix. 21). A few months passed, and the first part of this programme was almost completed. In the year 56 A.D. St. Paul was at Corinth (Ro. xvi. 1), and it must have seemed to him that now at length his work in the East was done. He had founded Churches in Galatia, on the Asiatic coast, in Macedonia, and in Greece. Some of these he had visited three times, others twice. The troubles at Corinth had been settled, and his authority re-established there. It only remained for him to convey to Jerusalem the money collected throughout the Churches of his foundation (Ro. xv. 25, 26), and then he

would feel himself free to carry the Gospel on to new conquests in the far West.

And if in respect of locality the missionary enterprise of the Apostle seemed, in the year 56 A.D., to have reached a well-defined boundary, beyond which spread new fields for further development, so also in respect of mental and intellectual growth. We cannot doubt that, during the previous twenty years of his Christian life, the mind of the Apostle had been engaged in restating to himself the whole mass of his beliefs in the light of that revelation made to him as he journeyed to Damascus. Upon the meaning of the death of Christ, for the individual, for the world as a whole; upon the place filled by the Law in the Divine providence; upon the strange fact that the Jews as a nation had rejected the Messiah foretold by their own prophets: upon these and many kindred subjects the Apostle's mind had been dwelling. He had resifted the earlier convictions of his inheritance and education. He had set thought against thought and truth against truth. He had weighed them in the balance of probabilities, and tested them in the crucible of the experience of the facts of life. And at last doubt fell away, and the truth emerged in clear unquestioned thought ready for language.

And now that one stage of his career seemed finished, the fitting moment seemed to have arrived for formulating the truth thus won. The long controversy with his Judaising opponents lay behind him, and it would seem from the tone of the Epistle to the

Romans as though St. Paul felt glad of an opportunity which enabled him to restate for others the conceptions which had actuated his own conduct throughout the struggle. Such an opportunity presented itself when, for the first time, he saw himself in a position to make plans for his Western campaign.

For any further extension of his work, Rome, for obvious geographical and political reasons, must be the starting-point. But Christianity would be no new religion in Rome. It had already made its way there, although, unlike the Eastern Churches, the Roman Church had had no Apostolic founder. The data do not exist which would enable us to write a history of the Roman Church previous to St. Paul's arrival there in 59 A.D. But that there were Christians there, both Jewish and Gentile, we know from St. Paul's letter. Not a few were personally known to the Apostle. And to a Christian community, many of the members of which were Gentiles, St. Paul felt no scruple in writing. Was he not the Apostle of the Gentiles? Amongst them, as elsewhere in the Gentile world, he hoped to reap the fruit of a spiritual harvest (Ro. i. 13), and from them, aided by their prayers, to carry the Gospel still further into the West (xv. 24, 28).

The considerations just stated will enable us in some measure to understand why it is that the Epistle to the Romans differs so much from St. Paul's earlier letters. We cannot fail to be struck by the fact that, whilst retaining the epistolary form, it is rather a summary of Christian doctrine than a

letter pure and simple. It begins, as is St. Paul's manner, with a greeting and a thanksgiving; it ends with some earnest exhortations, bearing very probably upon circumstances of the Roman Church with which St. Paul was acquainted, and with personal greetings. But the larger part of the letter is taken up with an exposition of St. Paul's doctrine which might have been written to any Church; and which was not, so far as we know, more necessary to the Christians at Rome than to those in Galatia or at Corinth.

The letter, *qua* letter, was suggested by the plans of the Apostle, but the occasion of writing to a Church with which he had had no previous personal intercourse was an opportunity, which he was glad to take, of formulating clearly some fundamental truths upon which his work had been based in that stage of his ministry which was coming to its close. Hence the peculiar form of the Epistle.

B. Analysis.

(*A*) Preliminary, i. 1–15.

(1) Salutation (i. 1–7).

(2) Thanksgiving (i. 8).

(3) The Apostle's plans for preaching at Rome (i. 9–15).

(*B*) Doctrinal, i. 16–viii.

(1) The subject-matter of St. Paul's preaching: Righteousness based on Faith (i. 16, 17).

(2) The need for Righteousness.

(*a*) The Gentiles had failed to attain it (i. 18–32).

(*b*) So also the Jews (ii.).

(*c*) The latter had been granted special privileges (iii. 1–8).

(*d*) Yet were in the same position in respect of sinfulness as the Gentiles (iii. 9–20).

(3) Righteousness independent of the Law (iii. 21–31). Yet anticipated in the Old Testament in the Faith of Abraham (iv.).

(4) Privileges consequent upon Righteousness (v. 1–11).

(5) The Universality of Righteousness (v. 11–21).

(6) Moral effects of Righteousness.

(*a*) It frees from sin (vi. 1–vii. 6).

(*b*) Whereas the Law only emphasised sin (vii. 7–25), Righteousness implies freedom from its bondage (viii.).

(*C*) An historical difficulty: How was it that the chosen people had rejected this Righteousness? ix.–xi.

(1) Their failure the more deplorable by reason of their great privileges (ix. 1–5).

(2) Yet not inconsistent with God's promises (ix. 6–13).

(3) Nor with God's justice (ix. 14–29).

(4) The cause of this failure (ix. 30–x. 21).

(5) Yet the failure is only partial (xi. 1–10).

(6) And only temporary, since its result is to be the salvation of the Gentiles (xi. 11–36).

(*D*) Hortatory, xii.–xv. 13.

(1) The general effect of this righteousness on the Christian life (xii. 1, 2).
(2) Some particular illustrations of this.
(*a*) Lowliness of mind (xii. 3–8).
(*b*) Various graces (xii. 9–21).
(*c*) Civic virtues (xiii. 1–10).
(3) The stimulus of expectation (xiii. 11–14).
(4) The problem of clean and unclean meats (xiv. 1–xv. 13).
(*a*) God, and not man, is the Judge (xiv. 1–12).
(*b*) The duty of Christian charity (xiv. 13–xv. 2).
(*c*) The example of Christ (xv. 3–13).

(*E*) Personal, xv. 14–xvi. 27.

(1) The work already accomplished (xv. 14–21).
(2) The Apostle's plans (xv. 22–29).
(3) A request for prayer (xv. 30–33).
(4) Note of commendation for Phœbe (xvi. 1, 2).
(5) Salutations (xvi. 3–16).
(6) Warning against schismatics (xvi. 17–20).
(7) Messages from St. Paul's friends (xvi. 21–23).
(8) Doxology (xvi. 25–27).

C. Criticism and the Epistle to the Romans.

The Epistle to the Romans was known to Clement of Rome and was freely used by Christian writers in the second century. Its authenticity has never been seriously doubted except by the modern Dutch

school of critics, who believe that nothing written by St. Paul has survived. And to these the originality and power of the Epistle, together with its primitive outlook, are a sufficient answer.

Some very difficult problems have, however, been raised by the last two chapters of the Epistle.

(*a*) The Salutations of xvi. 1–23 have seemed strange to many scholars. In no other Epistle does St. Paul send so many messages to personal friends. Is it possible that he had so large and intimate a group of acquaintances in a Church which he had never visited? It is often suggested that this section is in reality a short letter of introduction on behalf of the deaconess Phœbe, addressed not to Rome but to Ephesus. That Ephesus was its destination is suggested not only by the number of personal friends who are named, but in particular by the mention of Prisca and Aquila, who had been at Ephesus not long before this time (Ac. xviii. 19, 26), and are found there again in 2 Ti. iv. 19. The allusion to Epænetus, "the first-fruits of Asia unto Christ," would also naturally point to Ephesus.

The argument from the number of the salutations is to some extent discounted by the evidence of the other Epistles. We do not find long lists of such salutations in the letters sent to the Churches which St. Paul knew most intimately, *e.g.* 1 and 2 Co. or Gal. It might almost seem that in writing to a Church which he did not know he sought to secure

every possible link of acquaintanceship.[1] In other cases this was not necessary.

The difficulty as to Prisca and Aquila is more serious, but neither in their case nor in that of Epænetus do we know sufficient to assert that they cannot have visited Rome at this time.[2]

The allusion to schismatics in xvi. 17–20 is also difficult. It reads like a fragment of a letter to Corinthians or Galatians rather than of one addressed to strangers (cf. v. 17 "the doctrine which ye learned," v. 19 "your obedience"). The teachers referred to resemble those of Greece and Asia, and there is certainly no trace of them elsewhere in the Epistle. But the point cannot be pressed. St. Paul may be merely guarding against a possibility, with the Galatian troubles still fresh in his mind.

These difficulties are undoubtedly real, but it is

[1] Cf. the personal messages in Colossians, also sent to a Church which St. Paul had not visited himself. It is not necessarily implied that St. Paul knew personally all the persons mentioned in Ro. xvi. It would have been quite fitting for him to send such a greeting to any who had been reported to him as especially zealous in the faith, or to any who were in peculiarly difficult circumstances, *e.g.* the "households" of Narcissus and Aristobulus, who seem to have been groups of slaves who had been incorporated in the Imperial "household." At the same time many of the salutations imply personal acquaintance.

[2] Attempts have been made to connect Prisca (Priscilla in Acts) with the cœmeterium Priscillæ in the Catacombs at Rome. The argument is hardly secure (cf. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 333). The general attempt made by Lightfoot to show that the names given in Ro. xvi. occur in inscriptions more commonly at Rome, and in connection with the Emperor's household, than elsewhere, is also unreliable.

questionable whether they can be regarded as sufficient to outweigh the fact that this section has always been an integral part of the text of the Epistle. It is by no means easy to see how it could have come to be inserted.

(*b*) There is a great probability that the Epistle once existed in a shorter form which omitted the last two chapters. Traces of this form survive (1) in the tradition, preserved by Origen, that Marcion "cut away" [1] everything after xiv. 23; (2) in the lectionary headings of the oldest and best MSS of the Vulgate,[2] which pass straight from xiv. 23 to xvi. 25; (3) in the very diverse positions assigned to xvi. 25–27 in the MSS. Some insert it after xiv. 23 as well as in its present position, some have it only after xiv. 23, while two MSS, of considerable value, omit it altogether. One of these last-mentioned MSS also omits all allusion to Rome in i. 7, 15, an omission for which there is some other support.[3]

It thus appears that there was in existence in very early times a version of the Epistle which ended at xiv. 23, with the final doxology of xvi. 25–27.[4] It is not, however, possible to condemn chs.

[1] The Latin (*dissecuit*) of Rufinus' translation of Origen may mean rather "cut up" or "divided off." In any case it is clear that Marcion treated these chapters in some way differently to the rest of the Epistle.

[2] Codd. Amiatinus and Fuldensis.

[3] F^{gr} omits the doxology, leaving a space at the end of the Epistle, and G omits it, but leaves a gap at xiv. 23. These MSS are based upon a very early prototype, which probably omitted the doxology and also (with G) all allusion to Rome.

[4] The doxology probably belonged originally to the shorter

xv. and xvi. as spurious. St. Paul's argument runs quite smoothly on to xv. 13, and there is no sign whatever of a break at the beginning of the chapter. The following salutations and notes are quite Pauline in character.

It is thus clear that both forms of the Epistle are wholly Pauline. Many scholars think that the shorter form was made for liturgical purpose, since the greater part of xv. and xvi. are obviously of no great importance, in a doctrinal sense, and might well be omitted in drawing up a table of lessons. Lightfoot suggested that it was made by St. Paul himself, as a general statement of his position in the Jewish-Christian controversy. The standing difficulty to either theory is the division of the Epistle at xiv. 23. Why xv. 1–13 should have been omitted is unintelligible. The alternative is that St. Paul wrote the shorter form first, perhaps, as Lake suggests, about the time when he was engaged on Galatians, and that he then sent it, with a personal note attached, to Rome, in anticipation of his visit.[1]

It is possible, upon this view, that chs. i.–xiv., xvi., represent a copy of the same treatise which was

recension. Any other view renders its occasional appearance at xiv. 23 very hard to explain.

[1] A popular modern view is that the shorter recension was made by Marcion for doctrinal reasons (so Sanday and Headlam, pp. xcvii, xcviii, and others). It is true that xv. 1–13 contains many Old Testament references (and especially xv. 4) which would have been unpalatable to him. But the evidence for the short recension is so widespread and so early that it is difficult to attribute so great an influence to Marcion's edition (cf. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of Paul*, pp. 350 ff.).

sent to Ephesus. But the evidence is probably insufficient for a final decision upon the problem. Nothing is clear except that the whole of our Epistle is Pauline, and that the bulk of it was sent to Rome.

XVI.

THE EPISTLES OF THE CAPTIVITY.

St. Paul's Life between the Letter to the Romans and the Letters of his Captivity.

In the year 56 A.D. St. Paul left Corinth and journeyed by way of Macedonia and the coast of Asia Minor to Cæsarea and Jerusalem, which he now visited for the fifth and last time (Ac. xx. 3–xxi. 16). There he was arrested at Pentecost of the same year, and sent to Cæsarea, where he was detained in captivity for two years, 56–58 A.D. In the latter year he was sent to Rome, and there spent two more years in captivity, 59–61 A.D. (Ac. xxviii. 30–31). At this point in his life the narrative of the Acts closes.

Four of St. Paul's letters were written during these years of captivity. That to the Church at Philippi was sent from Rome (cf. i. 13 "the Prætorium," iv. 22 "Cæsar's household"). The other three, to the Ephesians, to the Colossians, and to Philemon, were most probably written from the same city, though Cæsarea is a possible alternative.[1]

[1] Philemon, however, must have been written from Rome. It is impossible to think that St. Paul at Cæsarea was planning a

Again, the relative order of these letters must remain uncertain. It is perhaps probable that all four belong to the later rather than to the earlier part of St. Paul's Roman imprisonment, and it seems likely that the letter to Philippi was written after the other three rather than before them.[1] Whether this be so or not, the three latter were certainly sent together (cf. Eph. vi. 21, 22; Col. iv. 7–9; Philem. 10, 11).

visit to Colossæ. Rome was the goal of all his hopes. Rome, too, and not Cæsarea, was the natural refuge of the runaway slave.

[1] Some scholars have placed Philippians before the other three letters, on the ground that style and doctrine are alike less developed, resembling more closely that of Romans, etc. (so, *e.g.* Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 30 ff.). It is not, however, possible to assert so orderly a development in a writer like St. Paul. And the apparent restriction of St. Paul's liberty (Ph. i. 7, 12, 13; cf. Ac. xxviii. 30, 31), together with his palpable anxiety as to the approaching trial (i. 20–25, ii. 23), point to a date near the close of the Roman imprisonment.

XVII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

A. The Destination of the Letter.

The traditional address "to the saints which are at Ephesus," though given by almost all MSS, cannot be viewed without some misgiving in the light of the letter itself and of its history in the first three centuries.

We notice in the first place, with some wonder, that St. Paul in writing to a community in which he had spent some years of his life (Ac. xix.), should make no reference to the special circumstances or needs of the Church, nor make use of the letter to send personal greetings to some of the numerous friends whose acquaintance he had made there (cf. Ac. xx. 36–38 for St. Paul's affectionate relations with the elders of Ephesus). Further, the language used in i. 15, iii. 2–4, iv. 21 is inexplicably frigid if addressed to the Christians whom St. Paul had evangelised at Ephesus. i. 15 might perhaps be explained with reference to the period since the Apostle's visit there. But how could he write to a community to the elders of which he had made only some three years

before the warm and touching address recorded in Ac. xx. 18–35 the words of Eph. iii. 2, "if so be that ye have heard . . .," or speak with doubt of their having heard Christ preached (iv. 21)?

The doubts thus raised as to the accuracy of the title are confirmed when we find that the reading "at Ephesus" in i. 1 formed no part of the original text, but is a later insertion. The two earliest Greek MSS, ℵ* and B*, omit it, and Tertullian, Origen, Basil, and Jerome all testify, in one way or another, that the words were absent from many copies of the Epistles in the second and third centuries.[1] These phenomena suggest a partial solution for the difficulties raised by the letter itself. It was apparently not originally destined for the Church at Ephesus, or, at least, not for that Church alone. To whom then was it written? An answer is suggested by a passage in the sister letter to the Colossians, in which St. Paul urges his readers to procure and read "the Epistle from Laodicea" (Col. iv. 16). If this was the so-called Ephesian Epistle, destined not for any one Church, but for all the Churches of Phrygia, many of which

[1] The omission is the more significant because the Greek is almost unintelligible without the insertion of some place-name. This suggests that a blank space was originally left to be filled in, in different copies, with the names of different Asiatic cities. It remains, however, unexplained how a copy with no name inserted came into circulation in the Early Church. Possibly a single copy of this character was carried by Tychicus, and, after having been read in each Church, was finally preserved at Ephesus.

The short recension of Romans may perhaps be a parallel instance of a letter sent to more Churches than one and with the names of the Churches inserted. Cf. p. 156.

must have been founded independently of St. Paul, or by missionaries sent by him, the lack of local detail in that letter is at once satisfactorily explained. The later insertion of " at Ephesus " in i. 1, and the title " to the Ephesians," are probably due to the fact that the letter would reach the western world from Ephesus, and that the name of that city, the metropolis of Asia, would, in default of any other, readily attach itself to it.[1]

That the so-called Ephesian letter was in reality a circular letter, intended for more than one Church, has been widely recognised. It must, however, remain uncertain whether the " Epistle from Laodicea " of Col. iv. 16 is to be identified with it.[2] St. Paul may well have written another letter, now lost, to the Laodiceans. And if Tychicus was to convey

[1] It has been argued that even in such a circular letter we should have expected to find some trace of St. Paul's personal friendship with the Ephesians and others, and some distinction drawn between the Churches which knew him and those which did not. The assumption is too arbitrary to carry much weight. And, in any case, the letter may have been intended primarily not for the Ephesians at all, but for the local Churches to which St. Paul was a stranger.

[2] This identification was apparently made by Marcion, to the indignation of Tertullian, who, however, relies not upon the text of i. 1, which apparently mentioned no one city in his copy, but upon the traditional title. In the Middle Ages an apocryphal " Epistle to Laodicea " had a considerable vogue. This is a compilation from the canonical Epistles, and was widely known as early as the sixth century. Though commonly associated with the New Testament down to the sixteenth century, it was never included in the Canon (Lightfoot, *Colossians*, pp. 247 ff.; Westcott, *Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 458 ff.).

the circular letter to Colossæ as to other Churches (Eph. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7), a special exhortation to the Colossians to read it would hardly have been necessary.

B. The Occasion of the Letter.

The letter to the Ephesians, unlike its predecessors, does not appear to have been composed to meet any particular crisis. It is written in a singularly calm and lofty spirit, and deals with the ultimate truths of Christianity, as embodied in the corporate life of the Church, leaving on one side all petty details of controversy. The occasion of writing was supplied by the outbreak of a peculiar form of heresy at Colossæ, which demanded a special letter. This letter was carried by Tychicus, and St. Paul took the opportunity of sending also a general Pastoral to the Churches of Phrygia. Now that the trouble with the Judaisers had quieted down, there was nothing that called for special comment in the life of the Church as a whole. St. Paul is thus able to deal in a broader spirit with the principles underlying Church life, regarded both as a means of grace in Christ, and as a moral power in the lives of its individual members.

C. Analysis.

i. 1, 2. Salutation.

(*A*) i. 3–iii. 21. Summary of the principles of Christianity, as operative in the Church.

(1) i. 3–14. Thanksgiving to God for privileges given in Christ.

(*a*) 4–6. For predestination to adoption in Christ.

(*b*) 7–12. For redemption and spiritual enlightenment in Christ.

(*c*) 13–14. For the gift of the Holy Spirit, the pledge and foretaste of ultimate redemption in Christ.

(2) i. 15–23. Prayer that the readers may realise these good gifts which are summed up in the Person and supremacy of Christ as Head of the Church.

(3) ii. Reminder of the privileges implied in the contrast between the old life and the new.

(*a*) 1–10. Spiritual death and moral corruption, as against spiritual life, resurrection, and exaltation, and moral progress.

(*b*) 11–22. (With special reference to Gentile Christians.) Separation from the chosen people of God and constant alienation from God Himself, as against incorporation in the Divinely founded and Divinely builded Society, and consequent access and nearness to the Divine life.

(4) iii. 1, 14–19. Prayer that these privileges also may be realised by the readers.

(2–13. A parenthetical section, emphasising the part played by St. Paul in the communication to the Gentiles of these privileges as summed up in Christ.)

(5) iii. 20, 21. Doxology, closing this first main section of the letter.

(*B*) iv. 1–vi. 20. Practical exhortations based upon the foregoing.

(1) In general.

(*a*) iv. 1–16. Exhortation to a life of kindly forbearance, which shall recognise the compatibility of infinite variation in respect of individual character and graces, with complete unity in respect of the Divinely ordered Society. This is emphasised by the figure of the Society as a human body, of which Christ is at once the head and the source of vital energy.

(*b*) iv. 17–24. Exhortation to a life of moral goodness, which should be very different from the old heathen life.

(2) In particular. The following virtues must be cultivated:

(*a*) iv. 25. Truthfulness.

(*b*) 26. Control of temper.

(*c*) 27–28. Honesty, which implies industry.

(*d*) 29–30. Wise utterance.

(*e*) 31–32. Amiability.

(*f*) v. 1–2. Love.

(*g*) 3–14. Purity in speech and action.

(*h*) 15–17. Wise use of time.

(*i*) 18–19. Sobriety.

(*j*) 20. Thankfulness.

(*k*) 21. Humility.

(*l*) 22–24. In the case of wives—Submission to their husbands.

(*m*) 25–33. In the case of husbands—Love for their wives.

(*n*) vi. 1–3. In the case of children—Obedience to and reverence for their parents.

(*o*) 4. In the case of parents—Wisdom in bringing up their children.

(*p*) 5–8. In the case of slaves—Obedience to their masters.

(*q*) 9. In the case of masters—Kindly treatment of their slaves.

(3) vi. 10–20. The heavenly armour.

vi. 21, 22. Recommendation of the bearer of the letter.

vi. 23–24. Benediction and Grace.

XVIII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

A. Foundation of the Church at Colossæ.

Tychicus, the bearer of the circular letter to the Churches of Phrygia, carried with him a second letter, which was addressed to one Church in particular. Not that St. Paul's relations with the Church so singled out were closer than with the other communities. He says himself that the Christians at Colossæ had never seen his face (ii. 1), and implies that his knowledge of them was entirely due to the reports of Epaphras (i. 8, 9; cf. i. 4). But amidst the many dangers to which the Christian communities were all alike exposed, one threatened the Church at Colossæ with special vehemence, and seemed to call for his Apostolic counsel and warning.

For the origin and history of the Church at Colossæ this letter is our only authority. Epaphras seems to have been its founder (i. 7), and from iv. 13 we may perhaps conclude that he had been the first to evangelise the neighbouring towns of Laodicea and Hierapolis, distant from Colossæ ten and thirteen miles respectively. But Epaphras must have become acquainted with St. Paul and with

Timothy (i. 1) at an early date—perhaps during the Apostle's three years' sojourn at Ephesus—for St. Paul speaks of him as though he were his ambassador to Colossæ (i. 7), "a faithful minister on our behalf."

Of other individual Christians we hear only of Onesimus (iv. 9) and Archippus (iv. 17), both of whom meet us again in the letter to Philemon.

B. Contents of the Letter.

The letter begins with the usual salutation and thanksgiving, which are followed, as in the letter to the Ephesians, by a prayer, which widens out into a statement of doctrine with regard to the Person of Christ. The truths here emphasised are doubtless intended to be contrasted with the false teaching combated in the next chapter.[1] Christ, in Whom alone we have complete redemption (i. 14), is

(*a*) the visible representative of the unseen Divine Personality (v. 15);

(*b*) supreme over and in the universe, as being prior to all Creation, and at once the link that holds all created things together and the ultimate ideal and goal of the world's aspirations and attainment (vv. 15–17);

(*c*) supreme Head of the Church by reason of His resurrection (v. 18);

[1] To this is due the difference of the Christology here from that of Ephesians. Here the emphasis is on the cosmic significance of Christ. In Ephesians the same standpoint is applied in particular to the truth of the unity of the Church, in Christ its Head. This truth is present in Col. i. 18, 24, though it remains undeveloped.

(*d*) One in Whom abide permanently and completely the infinite perfections of the Divine life (v. 19);

(*e*) One Whose death has healed the breaches due to sin (vv. 20–23).

The second chapter is devoted to the warnings against false teaching, for the sake of which the letter was written. In the Church at Colossæ there were teachers, one or more, whose doctrine was dishonouring to the Person of Jesus Christ as the one Mediator between God and man, and destructive of the liberty which the Christians there should have enjoyed in virtue of their allegiance to Him.

The following elements can be distinguished in this false teaching:

(*a*) Stress was laid upon the necessity of observing Jewish legal rites (circumcision, ii. 11; "the handwriting of ordinances," v. 14; "meat and drink," v. 16; "a feast day, or a new moon, or a sabbath day," v. 16).

(*b*) Stress was laid upon the importance of an ascetic life (v. 21); "severity to the body" (v. 23).

(*c*) Stress was laid upon the necessity of a worship of angels, and perhaps on the importance of visions communicated by them (v. 18).[1]

(*d*) A good deal seems to have been said about "thrones or dominions or principalities or powers" (i. 16; cf. ii. 10, 15), but it is uncertain whether these were regarded as angelic powers to be worshipped,

[1] It is, however, commonly agreed that the Greek of the latter part of the verse is corrupt. A simple emendation gives "treading the empty air," an allusion to the vain nature of the angel-worship. This would remove all allusion to visions.

or as demoniacal powers hostile to man, from whose influence men could escape only by a rigid asceticism.

(*e*) It would seem that this teaching was represented as a higher, more philosophical, doctrine than that which Epaphras had taught (ii. 8; cf. ii. 3).

As against this false teaching, which, it must be remembered, was being taught from within the Christian Church, and not from without, as a higher development of Christianity, and not as a rival to it, St. Paul lays down the following truths:

(*a*) This so-called "philosophy" was an empty delusion. It contrasted strongly with the "truth of the Gospel" (i. 5) taught by Epaphras. For it was of human origin, "after the tradition of men" (ii. 8; cf. ii. 22), whereas the Gospel had been long hidden in the Divine mind before its revelation to the saints.

(*b*) The worship of angels and the slavish dread of hostile spiritual powers were alike dishonouring to the Person of Christ. He was supreme in the whole universe, and all spiritual powers owned His sway (ii. 10). Over hostile powers His Cross was the permanent sign of victory (ii. 15).

(*c*) The observance of Jewish rites was not a moral advance (ii. 8) but a falling back "after the rudiments of the world." Christians had a better circumcision than the legal ceremony (ii. 11, 12). The debt incurred by disobedience to the Law had been blotted out by the Blood of Christ. The letter of the Law itself had been nailed to His Cross (ii. 14). The avoidance of unclean meats, the observance of

particular days, had been but a shadow, presupposing a more real and abiding substance (ii. 16).

(*d*) The rigid asceticism upon which they prided themselves, whether as a means of angel-worship or of escape from Satanic power; the debased and sham humility which it fostered (ii. 18, 23); the vain effort to peer into the mysteries of the world of spirits (ii. 18): all these implied a state of alienation from Christ (ii. 19), in Whom were hid for the Christian "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (ii. 3).

And so the Apostle passes on to the practical exhortations which form the third part of his letter. For Christians there was indeed a true asceticism, but it consisted in a putting to death of the "old man" and a putting on of the "new man," not the mortifying of the flesh, but the renewal of the spirit "after the image of him that created him" (iii. 10).

C. Analysis.

i. 1, 2. Salutation.

(*A*) i. 3–29.

(1) i. 3–8. Thanksgiving for the progress made by the Colossians in the truth of the Gospel communicated to them by Epaphras.

(2) i. 9–23. Prayer that they may grow still further in spiritual matters, leading up to an exposition of the unique position of Christ in the universe.

(3) i. 23–29. Explanation of the part played by the Apostle in the communication of these mysteries.

(*B*) ii.-iii. 4. Warnings against the false teaching current at Colossæ.

(*C*) iii. 5–iv. 6. Practical Exhortations.

(1) Vices to be put off.

(*a*) Various forms of impurity (iii. 5–7).

(*b*) Various forms of angry feeling (iii. 8–11).

(2) Virtues to be cultivated.

(*a*) Various forms of brotherly love (iii. 12–14).

(*b*) The peace which Christ can give (iii. 15).

(*c*) The wisdom which He can teach (iii. 16).

(*d*) Thankfulness to the Father through Christ (iii. 17).

(3) In the case of wives—Submission to their husbands (iii. 18).

(4) In the case of husbands—Love for their wives (iii. 19).

(5) In the case of children—Obedience to their parents (iii. 20).

(6) In the case of fathers—Wisdom in bringing up their children (iii. 21).

(7) In the case of slaves—Obedience to their masters (iii. 22–25).

(8) In the case of masters—Just treatment of their slaves (iv. 1).

(9) Prayer (iv. 2–4).

(10) Wisdom in relation to unbelievers (iv. 5).

(11) Wise use of time (iv. 5).

(12) Wisdom of speech (iv. 6).

iv. 7–9. Recommendation of Tychicus and Onesimus.

iv. 10–17. Special greetings.

iv. 18. Grace.

(*D*) The following Analysis will illustrate the close resemblance between the Letters to the Ephesians and Colossians in point of structure :—

	Salutation .	Eph. i. 1, 2.	Col. i. 1, 2.
A. 1.	Thanksgiving .	3–14.	3–8.
2.	Prayer . . .	15–23.	9–23.
	Second Thanksgiving	ii.	
	Second Prayer .	iii. 1, 14–19.	
3.	Personal Explanation	2–13.	24–29.
	Doxology . .	20, 21.	
B.	Warnings . .		ii.–iii. 4.
C.	Exhortations . .	iv. 1–vi. 20.	iii. 5–iv. 6.
	Recommendation .	vi. 21, 22.	iv. 7–9.
	Greetings . .		10–17.
	Grace . . .	23, 24.	18.

It will be seen that for the special warnings, which are naturally wanting in the Circular Letter, a second Thanksgiving and Prayer are substituted. The special greetings naturally find no place in the Circular Letter.

In addition to the above general resemblances, it is noteworthy that the exhortations in the two letters deal with practically the same Christian virtues, with close agreement in detail. Further, the language used presents so many points of contact between the letters, parallel ideas being constantly expressed in similar terms, that it is obvious that there is some very close literary connection.

XIX.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

With the letter addressed to the Christian community at Colossæ in general there arrived also a letter addressed to a well-to-do member of the Church, named Philemon. And with the letter came one whose arrival must have caused some little stir, for not every day did a runaway slave return to his master. Onesimus, the fugitive, unprofitable, perhaps dishonest slave (vv. 11, 18), had drifted to Rome, borne on that broad current which carried to the great Metropolis the human wreckage of many nations. There the old life of bondage was to come to an end, and a new life of freedom to begin. And so it proved, though not as Onesimus had imagined. From out the vortex of Roman heathen life St. Paul, the angler for human souls, drew him, and Onesimus the slave of Philemon became "my child whom I have begotten in my bonds" (v. 10). And yet he did not cease to be the slave of Philemon. This seems to have been quite clear in the mind of the Apostle. And, whatever Onesimus may have

thought, he acquiesced in St. Paul's wish and returned to his master.

The letter which he carried with him has many points of interest. It gives us a glimpse into the household of a well-to-do Christian citizen of the period; it illustrates for us the life of a slave, in its absolute dependence upon the will of his master; it draws out for us the warm-heartedness and affection of the Apostle; it leaves us quickened with a sense of curious surmise as to the result of his appeal. For, to take the last point first, there is about the letter, in spite of the apparent confidence of the wording, a half-suppressed feeling of anxiety, an underlying determination to leave no word unspoken which might touch the heart of Philemon, no cause of complaint on his part unremoved. The letter begins, after the salutation, with thanksgiving and commendation. St. Paul has heard of Philemon's love and faith (vv. 4–6). Some recent act of Christian love on his part has gladdened the Apostle's captivity (v. 7). Having thus smoothed the way, St. Paul tactfully puts forward his request. He might have commanded, but for love's sake he beseeches (vv. 8, 9). And he who so condescends is Paul, aged with years and trouble, and, more than that, Paul a prisoner for the faith in Christ, which knit together Philemon and himself in one common bond of sympathy.

And so he presses his appeal that Onesimus might be received back with kindness (v. 10). He hints that he might have presumed on the good will of

Philemon, and retained Onesimus at Rome (v. 13). He half suggests that by thus restoring him he has become his joint owner with Philemon (v. 17). He will pay any debt that Onesimus has incurred (vv. 18, 19), although the balance of liability must remain on the side of Philemon (v. 19). He throws out a half hope that Onesimus will receive his freedom (v. 21). Lastly, he kindles the imagination of Philemon with the picture of the reunion of St. Paul and himself and Onesimus, once slave, now brother in Christ, by bidding him prepare him a lodging (v. 22).

For Philemon himself our only authority is this letter. That he was a zealous Christian, prominent in spreading the faith, seems clear from vv. 1 ("fellow-worker") and 4–7. Of Apphia, doubtless the wife of Philemon, we know nothing further. Archippus, apparently their son, we have already met in the Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 17). He seems to have been entrusted with some special office in the Church, possibly with its general superintendence during the absence of Epaphras.

Apparently a small group of Christians met for worship in the house of Philemon (v. 1). With this we may compare the Church in the house of Aquila and Priscilla at Rome[1] (Ro. xvi. 4), and that at Laodicea in the house of Nymphas (Col. iv. 15; R.V. marg.).

[1] Or perhaps at Ephesus. Cf. p. 156.

XX.

CRITICISM AND THE EPISTLES TO THE EPHESIANS, COLOSSIANS, AND PHILEMON.

The Criticism of these three letters really forms a single problem. They were sent, or purport to have been sent, by the same messenger and at the same time. The letters to Philemon and the Colossians are intimately connected by details of personal allusion, while the latter is closely bound up with that to the Ephesians by its structure and language. We may therefore start from the most obviously genuine of the three, the letter to Philemon.

The authenticity of this letter has never been seriously doubted. It was even accepted by Marcion, who rejected the Pastoral Epistles on the ground that they were private letters.[1] It was included in the Muratorian Canon. Its shortness and simplicity brought it into some disfavour, especially in Syria; but these very qualities are the best guarantee of its genuineness. Only a few extreme modern critics have been able to bring themselves to believe that the letter is a forgery, composed to give veri-

[1] Tert. *adv. Marc.* v. 21.

similitude to the personal allusions in Colossians. The whole tone of the writing, its suppressed anxiety, its delicate forbearance, is far beyond the reach of any forger. And indeed it is impossible to think that any one would have thought of supporting in this way the claims of a pseudo-Pauline letter to the Colossians.

The letter to Philemon is thus a valuable witness to the authenticity of the companion letter to Colossæ. This also is well attested, being accepted by Marcion and mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. It has, however, been much more commonly regarded as un-Pauline by recent critics, though opinion is now, on the whole, in favour of the traditional ascription.

The principal arguments urged against the authenticity of Colossians are as follows:

(1) Baur and his followers have seen in the Colossian heresy a variety of the Gnosticism prevalent about the middle of the second century, some forms of which were closely bound up with Jewish beliefs and practices. But the many attempts to classify it have done little more than make it clear that there was at Colossæ some reaction, of an eclectic character, towards Judaism. Some, *e.g.* Lightfoot, have called attention to resemblances with the Essenes, a Jewish sect characterised by asceticism and a cult of angels. But the parallel is not very close,[1] and

[1] The Essene cult of angels was apparently only an esoteric teaching. Their asceticism involved abstention from meat and wine, and strict celibacy, of which latter there is no trace at Colossæ. Neither is there any indication of the typical Essene ablutions and communal life.

Essenism had its home in Palestine, not in Phrygia. It is, in fact, unnecessary to look outside the Judaism of the Diaspora for the tendencies to which allusion is made.[1] And though the general tendency of thought at Colossæ was perhaps along the lines which, during the second century, led to Gnosticism, similar tendencies appear in other places during the first century, and need not imply a later date than 61 A.D.

(2) It has been objected that the theology of the letter is un-Pauline, with regard both to the significance of Christ and to the position of the angels. It is true that the letter has a speculative tone foreign to the earlier letters, but these had not been written to oppose a speculative heresy. The advance of thought which regarded the Son as not only the Creator (cf. 1 Co. viii. 6) but also the consummation of all things (Col. i. 16, 20) in no way contradicts the Christology of the earlier letters, but is its logical outcome. The subjection of all things to the Son had, indeed, already been taught in 1 Co. xv. 28.

So too St. Paul's belief in angels ("elements of the world," Gal. iv. 3; cf. Col. ii. 8; "principalities

[1] The term "philosophy" (Col. ii. 8) had been used by Philo of strictly Jewish thought. The legalism is that of the Jewish Law (ii. 11 f., 16), though it goes beyond it in the prohibition of drinks (ii. 16). The asceticism is little more than an extension of the Pharisaic fasting (ii. 21). Even the worship of angels (ii. 18) was foreshadowed in the mediatorial position assigned to them in the later Jewish writings (cf. Gal. iii. 19), and such cults certainly appeared among the Jews during the next century. Cf. Peake, *Col. in Expos. Gk. Test.*, p. 478 ff.

and powers," cf. Ro. viii. 38, 1 Co. xv. 24, with Col. ii. 10. 15) is quite clearly indicated in the earlier letters, where it is hinted more than once that he regarded them as liable to moral weakness (Gal. i. 8; 1 Co. vi. 2, xi. 10; Ro. viii. 38). It was only natural that he should regard the all-atoning Cross of Christ as taking effect not only in the world of men but in that of angels also (Col. i. 20; cf. ii. 15, 20).

(3) Objection has also been taken to the style and language. It is true that there are a certain number of peculiar words, not used elsewhere by St. Paul, but these mostly occur in the second chapter, and are largely explained by the special subject-matter of the letter. The style, too, is slower and heavier than that of the earlier letters. The movement of thought is less abrupt, and the sentences are often longer and more involved. This may, however, be sufficiently explained by the absence of the note of urgency characteristic of the period of the great Judaistic controversy. And indeed we have not sufficient of St. Paul's writings to judge how far his style may have undergone modification.

(4) It has sometimes been held that the literary relation between Colossians and Ephesians throws doubt on the authenticity of one or both of the letters. The close parallels of phrase and structure have suggested that one of the letters is genuine, at least in nucleus, and that the other has been built up by a follower of St. Paul round a series of phrases from this genuine letter. As a rule, critics have inclined to accept the authenticity of Colossians,

treating Ephesians as a general homily based upon it. Holtzmann's discussion, however, has shown that the literary phenomena are not so simple. Sometimes the phrases in Ephesians seem to depend on those in Colossians, while sometimes the reverse is the case.[1] He concluded that both Epistles were sub-Pauline, but that Colossians was built up round a genuine letter by St. Paul.[2] It is clear, however, that the same evidence might be turned to show that both are authentic, since there is no reason for supposing that St. Paul would have been unlikely to repeat himself in this way in letters written at about the same time.

Finding, therefore, no serious reason for doubting the authenticity of the letter to Colossæ, we approach that to the Ephesians with the presumption that it also is the work of St. Paul. In this case, however, many modern scholars have felt grave difficulties. The absence of personal and topical allusions is perhaps sufficiently met by Archbishop Ussher's theory of a circular letter.[3] But other problems remain.

(1) Here also it has been urged that the theology

[1] Col. ii. 19, *e.g.*, seems to depend upon Eph. iv. 15, 16.

[2] This would make it necessary to attempt the separation of the Pauline sections in Colossians. The analysis does not, however, work out at all convincingly. Holtzmann himself, *e.g.*, finds it necessary to account for the re-editing of Colossians by finding in it not one heresy but two, an ascetic, legal tendency attacked by St. Paul, and a semi-Jewish theosophy to meet which the letter was adapted. The evidence for this is very slight.

[3] See p. 162.

is un-Pauline. The unity of the Church is its central theme, and is developed to an extent unparalleled in the other Pauline letters. The conception is that of a true Church Catholic, uniting Jew and Gentile in the spiritual fellowship of the Body of Christ (ii. 11–22). It is only with a view to this spiritual unity that details of organisation are mentioned (*e.g.* iii. 5, iv. 11). Thus there is no reason to believe that they reflect a period after the death of St. Paul, who may well, now that the Judaistic controversy was over, have felt impelled to draw out that ideal view of the Church which had been his throughout. The same conception of a Church Catholic appears in 1 Co. xii. 28, xv. 9; Gal. i. 13, while the companion letter to Colossæ states it in an explicit, if unexpanded, form in i. 22, 23, ii. 19–22. This ideal tendency accounts also for the association of the other Apostles with St. Paul in the proclamation of the Gospel to the Gentiles, as in iii. 5, 6.[1] The general purpose of the letter explains why it is that the Cross is spoken of not so much as atoning for sin, but rather as making Jew and Gentile one in the Church.[2] It is the idea of Ro. x. developed.

[1] The manner of this allusion is, however, curious and difficult. "His *holy* apostles and prophets" includes St. Paul himself, and has a strange sound as coming from his pen. Yet he was not one of the original Twelve, and perhaps in this passage he is using a familiar title of honour, given to them, without any consciousness that he himself was included.

[2] It is interesting to note that in Colossians also the work of the Cross is viewed directly from the standpoint of the particular purpose for which St. Paul is writing (Col. i. 20, ii. 14, 15).

Further, it is not unnatural that the eager expectation of the Second Coming as imminent, which had characterised, *e.g.*, 1 Th., should have tended to sink into the background as the everyday routine of Church life absorbed more and more of the care of the Apostle,[1] so that in this Church Pastoral it is practically unmentioned.[2]

(2) The style has also given rise to serious difficulties. It is unlike that of any of the other Pauline letters in the long and involved elaboration of its sentences, which are sometimes prolonged in a series of subordinate clauses until the connection becomes almost impossible to follow. The impetuous force of the earlier letters is not felt at all. There is no urgent call to action, and the profundity of the thought is able to find full expression. It is not possible to assert dogmatically, with some critics, that St. Paul cannot have written in such a manner. Similar phenomena, though on a far smaller scale, appear in Colossians, and we have no opportunity of judging how St. Paul would have composed a treatise upon a general subject, with no personal or polemical interests to affect his style. Thus, though it would certainly be impossible to assert that the letter is exactly what we should have expected from the pen of St. Paul, it is very unsafe to argue on stylistic

[1] As 2 Th. shows, St. Paul had never been a fanatic with regard to the Parousia.

[2] The allusion in ii. 7 to "ages which are to come" does not necessarily imply ages *preceding* the Second Coming. Cf. the reference to "ages" in iii. 21.

grounds alone that he cannot have been its author.[1]

We have seen above that the curious relation which exists between this letter and that to Colossæ tends to show that both letters are genuine. Ephesians is also well attested externally, since it was known both to Ignatius and to Polycarp, and throughout the second century. And though the peculiarities of the style and subject-matter cannot fail to excite attention and curiosity, they hardly afford sufficient presumption for rejecting the Pauline authorship, in face alike of the tradition of the Church, and of the difficulty of assigning to an unknown author so noble a work.

[1] There are rather a large number of words, about 80, not used elsewhere by St. Paul. This is not a decisive number, in view of the other peculiarities of the style. The use of διάβολος (iv. 27, vi. 11) for his customary Σατανᾶς is curious. The former term only occurs elsewhere, in the Pauline correspondence, in the Pastoral Epistles (i. Ti. iii. 6, 7; 2 Ti. ii, 26), where, however, the name "Satan" is used also.

XXI.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

A. The Purpose of the Letter.

This letter has four leading thoughts running through it. Two concern the relation between St. Paul and the Philippians; two relate more particularly to the Philippians themselves. The first two are the mistaken view taken by the Philippians concerning St. Paul's trial at Rome and the future of the Gospel there, and their equally mistaken view of his attitude towards themselves. The last two are the necessity of shunning certain false teachers, and the necessity of cultivating a spirit of unity and concord in the Church.

To take these points separately:

(*a*) It would seem that the Philippians had allowed themselves to take too desponding a view of the result of St. Paul's impending trial. They seem to have dwelt upon the thought of his probable conviction, and to have indulged in gloomy anticipations of the future of Christianity in the event of his death.

To correct these misconceptions, St. Paul in i. 12–26 describes the actual facts of the case. So far from

having brought the Gospel into disrepute, or diminished its effectiveness as a moral force, his imprisonment and trial had hitherto resulted in the advance of the Gospel (i. 12). By a strange irony of circumstances his confinement had led to a diffusion of the Gospel, together with a right understanding of the causes of that confinement, in quarters to which the Gospel could hardly otherwise have penetrated. Throughout the whole prætorian guard it had become known that he was accused not of social crimes but of allegiance to Christ ("my bonds became manifest in Christ," i. 13). And if in respect of the promulgation of the Gospel the trial of the Apostle, so far as it had proceeded, had had a good effect, so also in another. It had encouraged the whole society of Christians in Rome, and had given them confidence in preaching (i. 14). If some of these preachers were animated by motives of jealousy towards himself, the Apostle recked little of that.[1] In any case Christ was being preached (i. 15–18).

And, more than this, the Philippians need not despair. The recent proceedings-at-law in the case of the defendant Paul of Tarsus promised well for the future. In point of fact he confidently anticipated a speedy acquittal. The one point about which he felt anxious was that when the day of trial came he might make such a defence as should redound to the glory of God as much as could his martyrdom

[1] This has been made a difficulty for the acceptance of the letter as Pauline, on the ground that the author of 1 Co. i. 12; Gal. i. 8, could not have spoken thus mildly of schismatical tendencies.

(i. 19, 20). For himself death could only be a gain, for it would mean admission to the presence of Christ (i. 21, 23). But he realised that his life's work was not yet finished (i. 22), and was confident that his trial must result in acquittal that he might carry out what still remained for him to do (i. 24–26). In complete accordance with this, the Apostle, later in the letter, gives expression to his expectation of being able to revisit Philippi shortly (ii. 24 ; cf. i. 26), and to this increased happiness of outlook are probably due in part the frequent exhortations to joy and gladness (ii. 18, iv. 4 ; cf. ii. 2, iii. 1).

(*b*) So far the letter has been one of direct statement to remove ignorance as to the actual facts. In the next point it becomes one of gratitude to clear away misconceptions as to the Apostle's personal feelings. The Philippians had quite lately, after a period of quiescence, sent through Epaphroditus assistance in money to the captive Apostle. For this kindly remembrance of his needs St. Paul wishes to thank them. But in all that he says upon this point there is an indirectness, and at the same time an anxiety to remove all doubts as to his gratitude, which suggests that this letter is not the first simple expression of thankfulness for help just received, but a second and later letter intended to remove some dissatisfaction felt in connection with this "giving and receiving." Did the first letter of thanks seem cold ? Or were the Philippians fearful that their previous inability to contribute to the Apostle's needs had made him coldly inclined towards them ?

Or, again, were the divisions, of which we hear more in the letter, connected with the subscription towards the Apostle's expenses? We cannot say. In any case in this latter St. Paul leaves no stone unturned to make it clear that he himself was more than satisfied.

At the very outset he gives expression to his thankfulness for the long and continued assistance of the Philippians in the work of spreading the Gospel (i. 3–5). He emphasises with great directness the fact that this feeling of thankfulness includes the whole community (i. 3, 7, 8; cf. i. 1). He is only anxious that there should be no misconception or lack of discernment to mar his, and their, joy and gladness in the matter (i. 9). So far he writes in general terms. In ii. 25 he takes occasion to express his warmth of feeling for the messenger who had recently brought to him the gift from Philippi. Epaphroditus is his "brother and fellow-worker and fellow-soldier" (ii. 25). He has been sick, but God had spared him that the Apostle might not be weighed down with sorrow (ii. 27). He had hazarded his life in the carrying out of his commission (ii. 30). And not even now can the Apostle leave the subject, but must needs recur to it a little further on. Once more he gives expression to his thankfulness that the Philippians had found means to continue their generosity (iv. 10). He knows that the previous discontinuance of assistance was due not to lack of kind thought but of opportunity (iv. 10). He begs them not to suppose that his personal needs call for

assistance (iv. 11), for he has learned how to endure poverty (iv. 12). But still their gift is gratifying to him (iv. 14). He reminds them how, from the first days of their existence as a Christian Church, they had from time to time shown their generosity (iv. 15, 16), a generosity which has gladdened the Apostle, not because of the satisfaction of his own wants, but because such giving ultimately repays the giver (iv. 17). For the present at least he himself has more than sufficient (iv. 18).

(*c*) The third main subject of the Epistle is one of warning. In ch. iii. the Apostle adds to what he has said in previous letters (iii. 1) a few solemn words of warning against some false teachers at Philippi. These were no doubt Jewish-Christians, who sought to disturb the peace of the Gentile converts by teaching that there could be no Christianity without circumcision, and that St. Paul was a renegade who had abjured his original faith. The Apostle here contrasts his own faith with theirs. They insisted with stubborn obstinacy, and with wooden-headed misapprehension of its true value, upon the rite of Jewish circumcision. They wished to retain the physical rite, whilst they had lost its true spiritual significance. Let them therefore adopt a term which should express their materialism. "Concision" (*i.e.* cutting) rather than circumcision would better express their meaning (iii. 2). On the other hand, he himself, and those Jews who had acted in unison with him, had a real right to the term. They had grouped together all the many privileges which their

position as members of the Jewish theocracy guaranteed to them (iii. 5, 6). At one stroke they had cut themselves adrift from them, that through loss of the external form of Judaism they might begin to realise its true spiritual significance (iii. 7 ff.). This was the real and permanent circumcision.

(*d*) Lastly, the letter is one of counsel and exhortation, with special reference to the cultivation of three graces in particular.

(1) The Philippians are to aim at unity; to cultivate unity of outlook; to endeavour to look at things from a common standpoint; to aim rather at that which is of value for the whole community, than at that which will advance the individual only; to avoid disputes (ii. 2–4, 14, iv. 2).

It is possible that there is here an underlying reference to divisions of opinion about the contributions towards the Apostle's expenses.

(2) Side by side with this fellow-feeling must go the habitual cultivation of humble-mindedness (ii. 3), a perpetual imitation of the Divine Condescension (ii. 5–11).

(3) And with unity of outlook and self-forgetfulness let them cultivate a spirit of Christian gladness. This will save them from a tendency to take too desponding a view of the varying circumstances of life. It will enable them to put away worrying anxieties, and to lead a life of unburdened and glad dependence upon God. It will set them free from self-consciousness to cultivate a habit of perpetually dwelling on the abiding realities of life, in an atmo-

sphere of noble aims and high aspirations (iv. 4–9; cf. for the emphasis throughout the letter on "joy," i. 4, ii. 2, 17, 18, 28, iii. 1, iv. 1, 10).

B. Analysis.

i. 1, 2. Salutation.
(*a*) i. 3–11. Thanksgiving.
(*b*) 12–30. Statement of the Apostle's situation.
(*c*) ii. 1–18. Exhortations.
(*d*) 19–30. Plans for the future.
(*e*) iii. 1[a]. Final Exhortation.

Here it would seem that the Apostle intended to bring the letter to a close.[1] But, instead of doing so, he breaks off into the warnings against false teachers (iii. 1[b]–iv. 1). Then, after a special note of exhortation to some individual Christians (iv. 2, 3), the "rejoice" of iii. 1 is renewed, and a second "finally" (iv. 8) suggests the close of the letter. But still the Apostle cannot finish. He cannot satisfy him-

[1] The abrupt break in iii. 1 has led some people to think that here, as perhaps in 2 Co., we have really two of St. Paul's letters joined together. In this case, however, there is no serious objection to the supposition that the latter part of the letter was written some days after the first, possibly on the arrival of further news from Philippi. If so, the reference in the verse is to some previous letter, perhaps that in which St. Paul had acknowledged the receipt of the money from Philippi. It is curious that Polycarp, in writing to the Philippians, speaks of St. Paul's "letters" to them. Possibly, however, the reference here is to 1 and 2 Th., which would naturally be read also in the neighbouring Church at Philippi.

self that he has said all that might be said about the generosity shown to him by the Church at Philippi, and must needs add some final words of thanksgiving (iv. 10–20).

iv. 21, 22. Greetings.

23. Grace.

C. Criticism and the Epistle to the Philippians.

The letter was mentioned by Polycarp in his own letter to the Philippian Church, was accepted by Marcion, and found a place in the Muratorian Canon. This external evidence is confirmed by the internal features. The style is more like that of the earlier letters than that of the other letters of this period, a fact which may well be accounted for by a certain similarity of circumstance. Here again we have the strong, personal interest, calling for all the Apostle's tact and affection. Here, too, reappear the Judaising teachers, calling out in reply something of the old fire.

At the same time it is not surprising to find that the Christology shows an advance upon that of St. Paul's early writings. The author of Colossians could easily have written ii. 5–11, and the difficulties of interpretation in ii. 6–8 are in no way eased by taking them to be echoes of second-century Gnosticism.

The allusion to "the bishops and deacons" in i. 1 has occasioned some difficulty, and even some of

those who accept the letter as a whole prefer to cut the words out as an ecclesiastical gloss. There seems, however, to be no good reason why such officers should not have existed in the Philippian and other Churches at this time. The use of the term "bishop," *i.e.* overseer, in no way implies the establishment at this early date of the monarchial episcopate of the days of Ignatius.[1]

In general, the objections to the authenticity of the letter have little weight, and it is regarded as Pauline by the great majority of critics.

[1] Even in the Pastoral Epistles the bishops are not very clearly distinguished from the presbyters. Cf. p. 214.

XXII.

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

When he wrote the letter to Philippi, the Apostle was looking forward to his release from imprisonment and to a further period of evangelistic work (Ph. i. 19, 22, 25, ii. 24). And so it fell out, for in his next two letters (1 Ti. and Tit.) we find him once more at liberty. He is on a journey to Macedonia (1 Ti. i. 3), and hopes soon to be at Ephesus (iii. 14). Again we find that he has been in Crete (Tit. i. 5), and is expecting to winter at Nicopolis on the coast of Epirus (iii. 12).

There is no trace in early Christian literature of this last tour of St. Paul among the Churches of the Eastern Mediterranean. But there is some evidence to show that he actually carried out the visit to Spain on which he had set his heart (Ro. xv. 24). Clement of Rome, writing to the Corinthian Church about the end of the first century, speaks of St. Paul as having reached "the boundary of the West." It is difficult to think that any writer resident in Rome could intend Rome itself by such a phrase.[1] About

[1] Some critics hold that the context in this passage (Clem. Rom.

a century later the writer of the Muratorian Canon regards the visit to Spain as an undoubted fact. In speaking of the Acts, he says that St. Luke has not recorded "the passion of Peter and the departure of Paul from the city (Rome) when setting out for Spain."

It is not possible to determine whether this visit to the remote West preceded or followed the Eastern tour recorded in the Pastoral Epistles. But at least it presupposes a release from the imprisonment with which the Acts closes.

Ep. i. 5) makes it clear that Clement intended Rome by the phrase. This is hardly certain. If it were so, the Spanish tour would rest solely upon the Actus Petri cum Simone (*c.* 160) and the Muratorian Fragment, and there might be some reason for the conjecture that it is a mere inference from Ro. xv. 24.

XXIII.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

A. The Position of Timothy at Ephesus.

Timothy had been left at Ephesus that he might check the evil influence exercised by certain members of the Church there (i. 3). These men were "teaching a different doctrine" (i. 3), that is to say, teaching a doctrine irrelevant to the truth of the Gospel and mischievous in its effects. What this was the next verse clearly shows. They were "giving heed to fables and endless genealogies," or, in other words, wasting their energies in the study of apocryphal legends and stories about the Old Testament patriarchs and heroes.[1] This was injurious, because it led to "questionings," *i.e.* to unprofitable controversies, rather than to progress in the Christian virtues (i. 5). These teachers were probably of Jewish descent, for they desired to be "teachers of the law" (i. 7), but they entirely misunderstood its real value as a moral factor in life (i. 7–11).

Later in the letter Timothy is again warned against these "secular and ridiculous fables"

[1] Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 136.

(iv. 7), together with the endless legal quibbles which formed another side of the false teaching (vi. 4, "questionings and disputes about words"; vi. 20, "profane babblings and oppositions of the knowledge which is falsely so called").

The passages hitherto quoted deal with the theoretical basis of the false teaching. In its practical bearing upon life St. Paul saw two things to condemn. It was combined with an asceticism which the Apostle believed to be dishonouring to God (iv. 3, "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God created to be received with thanksgiving"). Such an attitude really depended on the Eastern view that all matter is essentially evil, a view which no Christian, believing God to be the Creator of all things, could safely adopt. And further, St. Paul regarded such ascetic practices as of very little real value, as compared with the ordinary everyday Christian life (iv. 8). Some at least of these teachers were tainted with covetousness, and desired to make a livelihood by their profession of Christianity (vi. 5). The evil had taken such deep root in the Church at Ephesus that St. Paul had felt himself obliged to excommunicate two of its members (i. 20), and the whole letter seems to be written in anticipation of further trouble (cf. vi. 3, etc.).

So far the work of Timothy at Ephesus was purely negative, being concerned with the repression of unchristian doctrines and practices. And this was perhaps the reason which first led St. Paul to place him in so responsible a position, thereby, half uncon-

sciously, it may be, creating a precedent for the monarchial episcopates which had come into existence in Asia by the time of Ignatius.

But this position had also a positive and constructive aspect. It was a position of authority in so far as Timothy was the representative of the absent Apostle, who claimed the right of legislating for the Church life of Ephesus and its neighbouring Christian communities, as he did for all the Churches which he had founded, whether directly or, as, *e.g.*, at Colossæ, through his evangelists. Consequently Timothy is commissioned to teach (iv. 11, 13, 16, vi. 2 ; and cf. i. 3, "charge"; iv. 6, "put in mind"; v. 1, "exhort"; v. 20, "reprove") and to direct the organisation of Church life.

In this organisation several specific points are mentioned :

(*a*) Care is to be taken that local and personal needs should not monopolise public prayer and thanksgiving. All men, including "kings [1] and all that are in high place," are to be remembered before God (ii. 1–8).

(*b*) Women are not to take a leading position in the Church (ii. 9–15).

(*c*) Elders, or bishops, are to be very carefully chosen for the integrity of their private life. They were to be men of ripe years (iii. 6), whose high character was well known (iii. 7). Usually they would be married (iii. 4, 5), but those who had

[1] There is no ground for the argument, based on the use of the plural "kings," that the Epistle must reflect the arrangements of the Empire under the Antonines (second century).

married a second time were to be excluded.[1] There appears to be no reason for distinguishing the "bishops" from the "elders," though it is clear from v. 17 that among the elders there was some differentiation of function. But probably it was not until a later date that certain of the elders were specifically appointed bishops (iii. 1–7, v. 17–19).

(*d*) Similar care is to be taken in the appointment of deacons and deaconesses (iii. 8–13).

(*e*) Regulations are given for the relief of widows, and their enrolment in a special guild (v. 3–16).

(*f*) Charges of sin brought against elders are to be received with caution. But a special warning is given against treating such cases lightly (v. 17–25). This applies especially to those who are about to be appointed elders (v. 22).[2]

Throughout the above it is assumed that the authority of Timothy will be recognised, and that his decisions will be binding upon Church members. He stands in a peculiar position, outside and above the ordinary organisation of the Church of Ephesus, as the accredited representative of St. Paul himself, and until St. Paul himself returned (iii. 15, iv. 13) he exercised the Apostle's authority.

[1] Some have thought that iii. 2 means that the bishop must be a married man. This seems to ignore the parallel in v. 10. It would hardly be necessary to demand that a widow should have been married!

[2] It is commonly held by recent commentators that only v. 17–19 deal with elders, the remainder of the section being concerned with the reconciliation of penitents (Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 215). In that case v. 22 refers to their re-admission after penance.

B. Analysis.

i. 1, 2. Salutation.

(*A*) i. 3–20. Timothy's position at Ephesus.

(*a*) Its purpose, namely, the repression of false teachers (3–11).

(*b*) Its example. St. Paul's own attitude towards his office (12–17).

(*c*) Its warning. The fate of two heretics (18–20).

(*B*) ii–vi. Regulations for Church life.

(*a*) Public Prayer (ii. 1–15).

To be offered by men of pure life and conscience (8).

For all men, because God wills all men to be saved (1, 3–7).

And especially for those in authority, that the Church may be at peace (2).

Women not to take a leading part in Church services (9–15).

(*b*) The requirements for the office of an Elder (iii. 1–7).

(*c*) Of a Deacon (iii. 8–10, 12–13).

(*d*) Of a Deaconess (iii. 11).

(*e*) The purpose of these regulations to provide against the possibility that St. Paul might be absent for a longer time than he intended (iii. 14–16).

(*f*) The dangers of false asceticism (iv. 1–5).

(*g*) Personal exhortations to Timothy (iv. 6–16).

(*h*) Timothy's attitude to young and old (v. 1, 2).

(*i*) The registration and relief of widows (v. 3–16).

(*j*) The honour due to Elders, and the need for care in their appointment (v. 17–25).

(*k*) The duty of slaves (vi. 1, 2).

(*l*) The danger of false teaching (vi. 3–10).

(*m*) Final exhortation to Timothy, and doxology (vi. 11–16).

(*n*) Postscript.

(1) The wealthy (vi. 17–19).

(2) Warning against "gnosis falsely so called" (vi. 20, 21).[1]

[1] Some critics have seen in vi. 20 an allusion to Marcion's work, the *Antitheses*, inferring either the late date of the whole letter, or that the verse is an interpolation. Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 113) explains the passage as referring to the casuistry of the Jewish Rabbis. The reference is perhaps hardly so definite. The "questionings and disputes of words" of the false teachers seem sufficient to explain the allusion.

XXIV.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

A. Position of St. Paul at the Time of Writing.

When the Apostle wrote the First Epistle to Timothy he himself was at liberty, and hoped shortly to visit Ephesus (1 Ti. iii. 14). His position when he wrote the Second Epistle was a very different one. He had lately been at Troas (iv. 13) and at Miletus (iv. 20). At the time of writing he was at Rome (i. 17) and in prison (i. 8, 12, ii. 9). His confinement, unlike that of Ac. xxviii. 30, 31, was a close one. Onesiphorus had sought him out with some difficulty, and had shown him kindness (i. 16–18). Luke was with him (iv. 11), and he could send salutations from "Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren" (iv. 21). But the feeling of loneliness and abandonment was strong upon him. Some of his fellow-workers had left him in the pursuit of their evangelistic work (iv. 10, 12, 20); but others had deserted him for less worthy motives. "All that are in Asia are turned from me" (i. 15). "Demas forsook me, having loved this present world" (iv. 10). Thus, in prison and almost alone,

St. Paul wrote to bid Timothy come to him. He is not to delay: "Make haste to come quickly" (iv. 9); "Make haste to come before winter" (iv. 21). A little dalliance and it would be too late. For the Apostle was in no uncertainty as to the result of his imprisonment. He contrasts it with that of a year or two before. Then, though all his friends forsook him, he was acquitted (iv. 16, 17). His work was still incomplete. The message was not yet fully proclaimed (iv. 17).[1] But in the years that had passed since that first imprisonment his life's work had ripened to harvest. The Gospel had been proclaimed in Crete (Tit. i. 5), in Epirus (Tit. iii. 12), in Dalmatia (2 Ti. iv. 10), perhaps in Gaul (2 Ti. iv. 10, R.V. marg.), and possibly in Spain. Thus the Gentiles had heard (2 Ti. iv. 17), and now the Apostle was no longer, as during his former imprisonment, in a strait between his desire to depart and his desire to remain (Ph. i. 23). Nothing now hindered his departure, and the time for it had come (2 Ti. iv. 6–8). There remained only the passage through trial and execution into the heavenly kingdom.

[1] iv. 16, 17 may refer to the "prima actio," or preliminary pleading, of St. Paul's final trial, though Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 22) understood the reference to be to the first trial. A comparison of iv. 16 with Ph. i. 7 ff. seems to make this latter hypothesis difficult, but perhaps the meaning is that there was no Roman Christian of rank and influence who would stand up as St. Paul's "patronus." Most of the early Christians would be slaves or freedmen, whose friendship would have no weight with the court. If the allusion is to the final trial, iv. 17 is not easy to understand (but cf. Ph. i. 13).

B. Character of the Epistle.

This Second Epistle is in many respects unlike the first. There is hardly an allusion here to the question of Church organisation, which occupied so large a part of the previous Epistle. ii. 2 is the only allusion to the subject. If the First Epistle is a Pastoral on Church government, this is rather an appeal to Timothy to brace himself for the task of carrying on the work from which the Apostle himself was to be removed. The Church seems to have passed from the forefront of St. Paul's consciousness. It is rather the Church universal and its future needs for which he is now concerned. And indeed the outlook was gloomy enough. St. Paul's career as an evangelist was closing. Of that he was fully conscious (iv. 6–8). And yet now more than ever before the Church needed a master hand. The Apostle looked into the future, and the horizon was dark with clouds (iii. 1, 13, iv. 3). Who would set forth the pattern of sound words (i. 13) when he was gone? Timothy might do much; but Timothy, it would seem, was despondent and fearful. And so the master sets himself to strengthen the disciple.

Viewed from this standpoint, the letter is an appeal to Timothy to summon up all his strength for the work of teaching the Gospel, as St. Paul had taught it, in the face of increasing apostasy and increasing persecution. St. Paul uses every means to this end, and his words must have struck home to the heart of his reader.

He begins with an utterance of confidence, the very expression of which is a half reproach : " having been reminded of the unfeigned faith that is . . ., I am persuaded, in thee also " (i. 5). The next words are the first of the many direct appeals in the letter, " stir up the gift of God," but the reason that follows is full of gentle irony and sad reproach : " For God gave us not a spirit of fearfulness. . . . Be not therefore ashamed . . . of me his prisoner, but suffer hardship " (i. 7, 8). To brace Timothy for this suffering the Apostle strains every nerve. He appeals to his own example : " I suffer . . . yet I am not ashamed " (i. 12) ; " Suffer hardship with me " (ii. 3). He quotes a few words which seem to give a glimpse into the paradise of reward for faithful endurance : " if we endure we shall also reign with him " (ii. 11). He draws back the curtain that hides the past, and reminds Timothy of the persecutions he himself had endured in the first days of his preaching to the Gentiles, and how he had been delivered from them (iii. 10, 11). Yet he never attempts to paint the future in roseate colours : " All that would live godly shall suffer persecution " (iii. 12) ; " In the last days grievous times shall come " (iii. 1). And so he closes with words that sum up the general drift of the letter :

" Suffer hardship, do the work of an evangelist, fulfil thy ministry. For I am already being offered " (iv. 5, 6).

C. Analysis.

i. 1, 2. Salutation.

(*A*) i. 3–iv. 8. Personal exhortations to Timothy.

(*a*) St. Paul warns Timothy against being ashamed of the Gospel, reminding him of his own example, and bidding him hold fast the truths which he has received (i. 3–14).

(*b*) Apostasy in Asia (i. 15–18).

(*c*) The consequent need for faithfulness and endurance on the part of Timothy (ii. 1–13).

(*d*) Idle disputations are to be avoided. The dangerous example of Hymenæus and Philetus (ii. 14–19).[1]

(*e*) Those who would oppose such heresies must be

(1) pure in their own life (ii. 20–22);

(2) tactful and gentle (ii. 23–26).

(*f*) The corrupt and immoral practices which St. Paul foresees, contrasted with the persecutions which the godly are to undergo (iii. 1–13).

(*g*) Safety lies in the orthodox tradition and the Scriptures[2] (iii. 14–17).

[1] Certain Gnostics held that the resurrection was to be regarded allegorically (Justin, *Dial.* 80; Iren. *Hær.* ii. 31. 2). But those in Asia who said "that the resurrection is past already" seem to be of a much more primitive stamp. They probably thought that the millennium had already begun (cf. i. Th. iv. 13, which shows that some of the Thessalonians had believed that for Christians physical death had been done away; also 2 Th. ii. 2; see p. 105 n.).

[2] *i.e.* The Old Testament.

(*h*) The above exhortations summarised and repeated in view of St. Paul's own approaching death (iv. 1–8).

(*B*) iv. 9–22. Personal messages.

(*a*) Urgent summons to Timothy, since St. Paul is almost alone (iv. 9–15).

(*b*) The result of the " first defence " (iv. 16–18).

(*c*) Salutations and Farewell (iv. 19–22).

XXV.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

A. The Position of Titus in Crete.

By comparison with what was said in 1 Ti. of the work of Timothy in Ephesus, there is a very striking contrast in what is said here of the purpose of the presence of Titus in Crete.

In both cases the task assigned is double-sided. Both had to correct false teaching and to arrange for Church organisation. But in 1 Ti. the emphasis is placed upon the former, in Titus upon the latter. Timothy was left at Ephesus to counteract false teaching. Being there, it would naturally fall to his lot, as the Apostle's representative, to regulate and control the already existing Church organisation. Titus, on the other hand, was left in Crete to bring into existence a Church organisation which apparently had hitherto been lacking (i. 5). He was to appoint elders throughout the cities of the island (in i 7 as in 1 Tim. iii. 1, 2 "bishop" is equivalent to "elder"); but he was to see to it that amongst the necessary qualifications of the men he appointed

should be a capacity to teach "sound doctrine" and to counteract false teaching (i. 9–10).[1]

This false teaching seems to have been of the same character as that at Ephesus. Its adherents are "vain talkers" (i. 10; cf. 1 Ti. i. 6). They give heed to "Jewish fables" (i. 14; cf. 1 Ti. i. 4), and are concerned about "foolish questionings and genealogies, and strifes and fightings about the law" (iii. 9; cf. 1 Ti. i. 4, vi. 4). They seek to make a livelihood by their teaching (i. 11; cf. 1 Ti. vi. 5). And they probably taught the necessity of avoiding ceremonial impurity by means of abstinence (i. 15; cf. 1 Ti. iv. 3, 4).

St. Paul regards this teaching as practically valueless (i. 10, "vain talkers"; iii. 9, "unprofitable and vain"). But he speaks of its authors in very strong terms. Their mouths must be stopped (i. 11). They are to be reproved sharply (i. 13). If they will not submit to admonition Titus is to "refuse" them (iii. 10).[2]

B. The Relation of Titus to 1 Timothy.

These two letters are clearly very closely connected. Not only are the false teachers described in almost the same terms, but the details of Church

[1] Cf. 1 Ti. iii. 2, v. 17; 2 Ti. ii. 2.

[2] This does not refer to the excommunication of heretics properly so-called, but to the personal avoidance of those who made mischief in the Church. The allusion to "a first and second admonition" in this verse seems to be a direct echo of Mt. xviii. 15.

organisation are strikingly similar. The requirements for the office of Elder are stated with close parallels of language (cf. *e.g.*, Tit. i. 7 with 1 Ti. iii. 3). It is curious to find both Timothy and Titus given definite instructions as to their bearing towards old men and young men, old women and young women (1 Ti. v. 1, 2; Tit. ii. 1–6). The position of believing slaves crops up incidentally in both letters, showing that the matter was upon St. Paul's mind (1 Ti. vi. 1, 2; Tit. ii. 9, 10). St. Paul's fears for the position of his representative find expression in almost the same words: "Let no man despise thee" (Tit. ii. 15); "Let no man despise thy youth" (1 Ti. iv. 12).

These phenomena would be natural in letters written within a few days of one another. And it is possible to reconstruct the history in such a way as to make this a reasonable hypothesis. After leaving Timothy and Titus in Ephesus and Crete, St. Paul seems to have visited Achaia (cf. 2 Ti. iv. 20) via Macedonia (1 Ti. i. 3). He had probably given them very vague instructions, and would naturally be much exercised in mind about them. Hence arose the ideas on Church government which distinguish the Pastorals from all the other letters of St. Paul. He determines to visit Timothy, by way of Epirus (Tit. iii. 12) and Macedonia. But lest he should be delayed he writes to him directly. Within a few days he finds that his fears are justified. The work in Epirus will need a whole winter, and he decides to stay at Nicopolis. It occurs to him

that this makes it very unlikely that he will see Titus again, and accordingly he writes to him also. Primarily the letter is an invitation to Titus to join him for the winter (Tit. iii. 12), but lest any difficulty should arise St. Paul embodies in a briefer form the instructions which he has already sent to Timothy.

C. Analysis.

i. 1–4. Salutation.

(*A*) The purpose of Titus' presence in Crete (i. 5).

(*B*) Regulations for Church life (i. 6–iii. 11).

(*a*) Elders (i. 6–9).
(*b*) False teachers (i. 10–16).
(*c*) Old and young (ii. 1–8).
(*d*) Slaves (ii. 9–15).
(*e*) Obedience to authority, and maintenance of good works (iii. 1–8).
(*f*) False teachers (iii. 9–11).

(*C*) Personal notes (iii. 12–15).

(*a*) Plans for the future (iii. 12, 13).
(*b*) Postscript on good works (iii. 14).
(*c*) Salutation and Grace (iii. 15).

XXVI.

CRITICISM AND THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

By the end of the second century the Pastoral Epistles were generally received in the Church as the work of St. Paul (Irenæus and the Muratorian Canon). And throughout the second century their traces are frequent and widespread. They were well known to Polycarp, and probably to Ignatius and Clement of Rome. It is, however, curious that Marcion (*c.* 140), despite his admiration for St. Paul, excluded these letters from his canon. He gives as his reason that they are private correspondence,[1] and though this is probably merely a pretext for the rejection of documents which opposed his own views,[2] it shows that the ascription to St. Paul was already common.

In spite of this strong external attestation these Epistles are often rejected as un-Pauline. Many

[1] Tert. *adv. Marc.* v. 21.

[2] 1 Ti. ii. 5, though not necessarily anti-docetic, could not be made to agree with Marcion's docetism. His asceticism would have clashed with 1 Ti. iv. 3, his depreciation of the Old Testament with 2 Ti. iii. 15.

scholars think that the internal evidence shows them to be treatises written by a disciple of St. Paul in his master's name, at a time when Church government and early form of Gnosticism constituted the principal problems of Church life, *i.e.* about the beginning of the second century.[1]

The advantages claimed for this theory are as follows :

(*a*) It does away with all the difficulties involved by the hypothesis of a release from the imprisonment with which the Acts of the Apostles closes. These difficulties are mainly due to the presupposition that the Acts were written some time after the death of St. Paul, and that their author must have mentioned this release had he known of it. Harnack's conversion to the view that the Acts were composed by St. Luke soon after St. Paul's arrival at Rome shows that those who adopt this position are on rather precarious ground.

And further, even among those who reject the Pauline authorship there are few who do not admit the personal reminiscences to be genuine Pauline fragments. But it is very hard to find a place for these within the narrative of the Acts. The Epistles themselves bear strong witness to the release as a fact.

(*b*) It accounts for the very un-Pauline interest in Church organisation. The letters to Corinth, it is argued, deal with a somewhat similar subject in a far less official spirit.[2] But it is by no means clear

[1] *e.g.* Moffatt, *Introduction to New Testament*, p. 415.

[2] This is indeed natural, since at Corinth the question was a

that the problem may not have arisen in a more acute form during St. Paul's latter years. Some means had to be found to check the false teachers of Colossians and the Pastorals, who probably appealed for their authority to the "spiritual gifts" on which St. Paul himself had laid so much stress (*e.g.* 1 Co. xiv. 1). The obvious method was by some more definite form of organisation.

And the type advocated is very far removed indeed from the monarchial episcopacy of Ignatius. Timothy and Titus have their authority not as bishops, but as the personal representatives of St. Paul.[1] Apart from them there is little advance visible on the stage already reached during St. Paul's first missionary journey, when elders were specially appointed in the Churches of South Galatia (Ac. xiv. 23). Before the Epistle to the Colossians St. Paul had given Archippus a special commission in the Church at Laodicea (Col. iv. 17). The Epistle to the Philippians alludes to "bishops and deacons" (Ph. i. 1).[2]

(*c*) It accounts for the change in doctrinal tone. The term "faith" has come almost to signify an

personal one, being bound up with an attack upon St. Paul's own authority.

[1] And even here cf. the mission of Timothy to Corinth (1 Co. xvi. 10, 11), where the words, "let no man therefore despise him," form a striking parallel to 1 Ti. iv. 12; Tit. ii. 15.

[2] The only real advance in organisation is the enrolment of the widows as an order (1 Ti. v. 9), and this had been partially anticipated at Jerusalem in the first days of Christianity (Ac. vi. 1).

orthodox body of doctrine[1] (*e.g.* 1 Ti. i. 19, iv. 1, vi. 21; 2 Ti. iii. 8; Tit. i. 13). The importance of "sound doctrine" (1 Ti. i. 10; cf. iv. 6, vi. 3, 20; 2 Ti. i. 13; Tit. ii. 1) is reiterated in a manner new to St. Paul.

The reality of the difficulty cannot be denied, and it is only partly met by asserting that the writer's interest is taken up by new problems. It is noticeable, however, that 2 Ti. forms a link between the earlier letters of St. Paul and the other two Pastorals. It contains much of the Pauline fire. And it is difficult to think that it is by a different author to the other two letters.

(*d*) The allusions to the heresy are said to imply some form of second-century Gnosticism. Hort (in *Judaistic Christianity*) has shown that they may refer quite naturally to Judaising teachers.[2] This would suit an early date as well as the decade preceding Ignatius, a period to which the letters are often assigned. And this latter dating would render very remarkable the absence of any clear reference to Docetism, against which Ignatius tirades continually.

(*e*) The principal argument rests on the style and language of these letters. There are undoubtedly very great differences between the Pastorals and the other writings of St. Paul. A large number of words and phrases occur which are found in none of the other Epistles. This might perhaps be accounted for by the lapse of time and by the peculiar character

[1] Ro. xii. 6 is no real precedent. [2] *Vide sup.*

of the subjects with which the writer is dealing. But it is harder to explain the novel smoothness of structure in the sentences, and especially the great difference in the usage of particles. It may be urged against this that St. Paul is here writing private letters, without the inspiration called forth by the clash of controversy.[1] It has been noted that the style has affinities with that of St. Luke, who was with St. Paul at least when 2 Ti. was written (2 Ti. iv. 11). It is possible that St. Luke wrote these letters as St. Paul's amanuensis, and that the practised and easy style is due to his pen.

(*f*) It has been objected that it would have been unnatural for St. Paul to speak of Timothy's youth, or to address to him such strong assertions of his own Apostleship, after thirteen years of companionship in the work of the Church. But it is quite incredible that any one writing in St. Paul's name should have spoken thus of St. Paul's old friend. Only the master himself would be likely to think of his pupil as still young. And on the supposition that St. Paul is the author, Timothy need not have been much above thirty when the letters were written. To a writer of thirty years later Timothy would have been a name to respect, and warnings and personal advice would have been wholly out of place.

(*g*) Other details have been noted. The group of "faithful sayings" have a rather late sound (1 Ti. i. 15, iii. 1, iv. 9; 2 Ti. ii. 11; cf. 19; Tit. iii. 8).

[1] Such controversy as there is in these letters is, so to speak, at second hand. St. Paul does not himself enter the lists.

There is apparently a quotation from a sort of creed in 1 Ti. iii. 16. And some have thought that in 1 Ti. v. 18 a saying of Christ is quoted as Scripture. In this latter case the allusion is probably only to the Old Testament quotation which precedes.[1]

It is clear that the above difficulties leave the question of the Pauline authorship open to considerable discussion. And if it were not for the personal allusions in the Epistles, it might not be easy to feel sure that there is anything about them which can be ascribed to St. Paul. Several attempts have been made to treat these passages as genuine fragments of letters by St. Paul, which have been used by one of his disciples to give life and verisimilitude to a treatise composed in his name. Others think that they have been treated in this way simply to preserve them from the danger of being lost. Various theories of interpolation have accordingly been proposed, especially in the case of 2 Ti., which is regarded as having the largest amount of Pauline material. But hitherto no theory of this class has met with any very widespread acceptance.

[1] Moffatt, *Introduction to New Testament*, p. 401, dismisses this explanation as "artificial." It is not easy to see on what grounds he does so. A well-known saying of Jesus might easily come into St. Paul's mind in the wake of an Old Testament quotation, and would need no introduction to his readers. And indeed such an allusion to New Testament "Scripture" would give a later date in the second century than is possible on other grounds.

XXVII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

A. Purpose and Destination.

The Epistle to the Hebrews stands in a peculiar position among the Epistles of the New Testament. That it was sent as a letter is clear from the closing verses ; and indeed the whole manner of the composition shows that it was addressed to a definite audience, and an audience with very marked characteristics of its own. Yet there is practically no clue as to the identity of either readers or author. The Epistle opens with a stately prelude to the main theme, and wholly lacks the initial greeting customary in the letters of St. Paul. It is written in a highly elaborate and rhetorical style, with its argument carefully and clearly carried forward from stage to stage. The hortatory passages are introduced with the utmost skill, not only breaking the monotony of the argument, but at the same time helping to suggest new lines of advance (ii. 1–4, iv. 1, vi. 12, illustrate this point). The final exhortations, too, are singularly general in tone, and it is only from very scattered hints that we can reconstruct the

position of those to whom they are addressed. These features are so marked that various theories have been suggested to account for the personal messages at the close. Some have thought that they are an attempt, either by the author or by another, to pass off the treatise as the work of St. Paul. This view fails, however, to explain why the additions so made were not more explicit. The verses, as they stand, would not, and, as history shows, did not, give the desired impression. It is far more natural to think that the Epistle was first composed as a treatise, of the character of a homily, and that the closing messages were added when the writer sent his work to some particular Church, whether that for which it was originally intended or another.

The general intention of the author is clear enough. He sets himself to emphasise the transitory nature of the institutions of the Old Covenant, its priesthood, its sacrifices, the commonwealth of Israel. All these were inevitably doomed to pass away, to give place to something more real and permanent than themselves. With the coming of Christ their work was done. As the Eternal High-Priest He offers the all-sufficing Sacrifice by the Blood of which He has sealed a New Covenant with the New Commonwealth of the Church.

But for whom was this great thought worked out in so splendid a form? It is natural to think of Jews who had been converted to Christianity and who were in danger of turning back to the bondage of the old ritual. That the danger was a very real one in the Early Church is shown by the letters

of St. Paul. And the earliest tradition, as shown in the old title "to the Hebrews," which goes back to the second century, points in the same direction. The natural meaning of "Hebrews" would be "Aramaic-speaking Jews of Palestine," and this would suggest that it was either to the Church at Jerusalem or to some local Palestinian Church that the letter was written. In favour of this view may be noted the fact that the readers were apparently Christians of long standing ("by reason of the time ye ought to be teachers," v. 12; the first teachers were already dead, xiii. 7). The phrase, "ye ministered to the saints, and still do minister" (vi. 10), might well have been used of the Church at Jerusalem, despite the poverty which called for the sympathetic aid of the Churches founded by St. Paul. And the references to persecution (x. 32–34) are not out of keeping with this theory of the destination of the letter. On the other hand, it is difficult to think that such a letter would have been written in Greek, and clothed in all the subtleties of Alexandrian thought.[1] One would have expected Aramaic, but there is no trace of translation about the Epistle. The writer does not even use the Hebrew Bible, but takes his quotations from the Septuagint.[2]

These difficulties have led scholars to make various

[1] Especially as the writer is clearly himself a member of the community (ii. 3, xiii. 19).

[2] The language of ii. 3 would also be curious on this hypothesis, unless the date is put impossibly late, as there must still have been in the Church at Jerusalem some of those who had heard the Lord.

guesses as to the situation of this Jewish-Christian community. The only suggestion for which the evidence is at all strong is that of Rome. The view is now commonly held that the Epistle was sent to a small body of Jewish Christians within the Roman Church. This may perhaps have been a house-church, such as those mentioned in Ro. xvi. 5, 10, 11.[1] The whole character of the Epistle suggests a small rather than a large community. This view has two points in its favour, though neither is quite decisive. It accounts for the curious phrase in xiii. 24, "those from Italy salute you." And it explains the fact that Clement of Rome has preserved the first traces of the Epistle, which was otherwise very little known until the end of the second century.[2]

Many modern scholars have given up the theory that the Epistle was written to Jewish Christians, whether in Palestine or elsewhere. They argue that the references to the ritual of the Old Covenant are merely an academic setting, based on the Septuagint, and not implying any first-hand knowledge, for a general statement of the greatness of the revelation of Christianity. They maintain that the purpose of the writer was to ward off a threatened relapse into paganism, and that the readers intended are Gentile Christians. The arguments in favour of this

[1] Assuming that Ro. xvi. was actually addressed to Rome.

[2] It has sometimes been suggested that the Epistle was sent to Alexandria. This theory has little in its favour except the Alexandrian type of thought and language shown by the Epistle itself, a point which cannot be pressed far.

position are drawn from one or two details in the text of the Epistle, which, it is held, would have little meaning for Jewish Christians. This is especially true of vi. 1, 2, where "the first principles of Christ" which are mentioned would already, for the most part, be familiar to the average Jew, but would form an important part of the training of the ordinary Gentile convert. It is asserted further that the failings against which the readers are warned (xiii. 1–17) would not be likely in Jewish converts. Neither of these arguments has much weight when set against the central fact that the whole intention of the Epistle is to institute a comparison between Judaism and Christianity, and that this comparison would have singularly little point if it were addressed to Gentile Christians in danger of relapsing into paganism.

And indeed even the Jewish Christian may well have needed to be reminded of the full significance of the old doctrines, which had been made new by Christianity, as well as to be warned against sins which, though forbidden by the Law, had by no means lost their power.

But even granting that the object of the Epistle is to counteract the dangerous attraction which Judaism still exercised over many minds, even within the Church, it does not necessarily follow that all the readers were Jewish Christians. Some at least among them may well have been of the class of "God-fearers," [1] Gentiles who before their conversion to Christianity had been interested in Judaism, had

[1] See note, p. 99.

been in some degree connected with the worship of the synagogue, and had, perhaps, kept some part of the ritual requirements of the Law. To such an audience the Epistle would certainly have been quite appropriate, but there is no positive evidence to make this view of its destination more than a conjecture.

B. Date and Place of Writing.

If the Epistle was written to a Christian community in Palestine, it seems most natural to place it between the years 62 and 70 A.D. It is not likely that it is earlier than 62 A.D., for it is not very probable that such a letter should have been written while St. James was presiding over the Church at Jerusalem. Nor does xiii. 23 appear to date from the lifetime of St. Paul. The lower limit seems to be fixed at 70 A.D. by the Fall of Jerusalem, which carried with it the abolition of the Temple services, a fact which the writer could hardly have left unnoticed.

If, however, the Epistle was sent to a small community at Rome or elsewhere outside Palestine, the date is much more open. All that can be said is that it seems to lie between the death of St. Paul and the First Epistle of Clement, written in about 95 A.D., since the Fall of Jerusalem would have comparatively little effect on the influence of Judaism outside Palestine. The reference to persecution in x. 32–34 is hardly strong enough to indicate that under Nero, and, if the Epistle was sent to Rome, perhaps points to a date before its outbreak in 64 A.D.

The place of writing is quite uncertain. No light is thrown upon the matter by xiii. 24.

C. Authorship.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is anonymous. The superscription ascribing it to St. Paul rests upon no early authority, and is not confirmed by the internal evidence of the Epistle. The writer appears to be one who had received his faith from the Apostles (ii. 3), whereas St. Paul affirms "neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. i. 12). The style and language, too, are wholly unlike that of the Pauline letters. As early as the third century Origen pointed out that the Greek of the Epistle had not St. Paul's typical roughness of expression. The difference extends to the whole structure of the Epistle, the careful development of the argument, with its rhetorical transitions and interwoven exhortations, being quite unlike the manner of St. Paul. The thought, too, suggests a different type of mind. This is especially shown in the attitude taken towards the Mosaic Covenant and Law, which are here regarded as types finding their fulfilment in Christ, rather than as a bondage from which the Christian is freed. So too the Pauline doctrine of Justification by faith finds no clear statement in the Epistle, faith being regarded mainly as a support for the believer in time of adversity.

This view is confirmed by the early history of the

Epistle. Though it was well known to Clement of Rome, traces of it are very scarce until the end of the second century. Its omission from the Muratorian Canon may be due to a mutilation of the manuscript; but if the Epistle had been known as the work of St. Paul, it seems impossible that Marcion would have omitted it from his Canon. Even Irenæus does not seem to place it on a footing with the other New Testament books, while Tertullian, in Africa, assigns it to Barnabas. Only at Alexandria, at the end of the second century, do we find the Epistle assigned to St. Paul, and even there the critical insight of Origen led to doubts which took many years to settle.

These facts make the Pauline authorship of the Epistle, at least in its present form, almost impossible. Clement of Alexandria suggested that it was a translation by St. Luke of a letter written by St. Paul in Aramaic. There are, however, features in the Greek which show that it cannot be the work of a translator,[1] and the view that St. Luke was more or less independently the author rests solely upon some very inadequate parallels of style. The other two names suggested in antiquity were Barnabas and Clement of Rome. For the latter there is no evidence. For the former there is the possibility that the tradition known to Tertullian was primitive. Further, as a Levite of Cyprus (Ac. iv. 36, 37) and a skilful orator (*ibid.*), Barnabas was the type of

[1] *e.g.* the play on the word διαθήκη, in its double sense of "covenant" and "testament."

Christian from whom such an Epistle might naturally have been expected. This evidence, however, does not amount to much, and indeed it is questionable whether Barnabas fulfils the indication of ii. 3.

In modern times the chief names suggested have been Apollos, Silas, St. Peter, Aristion, and Prisca or Priscilla. Of these, only the first and last need special mention.

The name of Apollos was first brought forward by Luther. As a Jew of Alexandria, "a learned man . . . mighty in the Scriptures," Apollos was certainly well fitted to be the author (Ac. xviii. 24). The only serious difficulty is that no early tradition mentions him, a fact not easy to explain away.[1]

It has been suggested recently that the arguments in favour of Apollos apply with equal force in favour of his teachers, Priscilla and Aquila (Ac. xviii. 26), and in particular of Priscilla, whose name is regularly mentioned before that of her husband, and who was, it may be conjectured, a person of some importance in the Early Church. This ascription of the Epistle to a woman has the advantage that it accounts to some extent for the absence of any name at the beginning. The authority of St. Paul stood against the admission of women teachers (1 Co. xiv. 34), and while the group of Christians which had met in the house of Prisca and Aquila (Ro. xvi. 5) might prize a letter from their late hostess, the Roman Church could not well put it

[1] Bartlet (*Expos.* June 1913) defends the ascription to Apollos, and suggests that the letter was sent to a house-church at Ephesus.

on a footing with the letters of St. Paul. The positive arguments from the Epistle itself in favour of this hypothesis are very slight, and are perhaps balanced by some equally slight indications in the other direction.[1] It is thus not easy to think that this theory is more than a brilliant conjecture.

D. Contents.

(*A*) i.–iv. 13. The complete and final character of the revelation in Christ.

(1) i. 1–4. Contrast between God's partial revelations of Himself in earlier times with His complete revelation of Himself in His Son.

(2) i. 5–ii. 18. Contrast between Christ, the Mediator of this final revelation, and the angels, the mediators of the Law.

Christ is superior to the angels

(*a*) in title (i. 4–12);

(*b*) in dignity (i. 13);

(*c*) in function (i. 14);

(ii. 1–4 is a parenthetical warning.)

(*d*) in rank (ii. 5–18). This last point is worked out with reference to the prophecy of Ps. viii., a prophecy of which the final clause is not yet fulfilled (ii. 5–8). But the earlier part of the prophecy has already

[1] Thus the mention of women in xi. 11, 31, 35 seems counterbalanced by the mention of Barak and not Deborah in xi. 32, in which verse again the participle, referring to the author, is masculine.

received fulfilment. Christ has been made "a little lower than the angels" in the Incarnation. He has been crowned through suffering (ii. 9). The purpose of this suffering was twofold:

1. That through it He might destroy death (ii. 9–16).

2. That by participation in the sufferings which are the common heritage of mankind He might be qualified to fulfil His office of high-priestly intercession for them (ii. 17, 18).

(3) iii.–iv. 13. Contrast between Christ, the High-Priestly Minister of the final revelation, and the ministers of the Old Covenant.

(*a*) Christ compared with Moses (iii. 1–6).

(*b*) The deliverance by Moses had failed through unbelief (iii. 7–19).

(*c*) The promised rest therefore remains, that we may claim it (iv. 1–13).

(*B*) iv. 14–x. 18. The High-Priesthood of Christ.

(1) iv. 14–vii. 28. In respect of Person.

(*a*) He fulfils two essential qualifications.

1. Sympathy with human infirmity (iv. 14–v. 3).

2. Direct appointment by God (v. 4–10).

(v. 11–vi. 20. A parenthetical exhortation.)

(*b*) His High-Priesthood was foreshadowed in that of Melchizedek (vii. 1–3).

(*c*) This already implied the superiority of the High-Priesthood of Christ over that of Levi, inasmuch as Abraham, and in him Levi, gave tithes to Melchizedek (vii. 4–10).

(*d*) The inferiority of the Levitical priesthood, and, by implication, of the covenant of which it was the outcome, is shown by the comparative inefficacy of the Levitical priesthood, and the multiplicity and transitoriness of its ministers (vii. 11–25).

(*e*) Summary (vii. 26–28).

(2) viii. In respect of the scene of His ministry.

(*a*) The Sanctuary in which He officiates must be in heaven, in contrast to the Mosaic Sanctuary which was upon earth (viii. 1–5),

(*b*) because He is the Mediator of a new and better Covenant, based upon better promises than was the Old Covenant (viii. 6–13).

(3) ix.–x. 18. In respect of service and ritual.

(*a*) The old service and its imperfections (ix. 1–10).

(*b*) The new service and its finality (ix. 11–28).

(*c*) Further comparison of the two services (x. 1–18).

(*C*) x. 19–xiii. Exhortations and warnings.

(1) Exhortation to make use of the privileges implied in the high-priestly work of Christ (x. 19–25).

(2) Warning against backsliding (x. 26–31).

(3) Exhortation to the life of faith (x. 32–39).

(4) Historic examples of faith (xi.).

(5) Encouragement to endure persecution (xii. 1–13).

(6) The holiness of the Church (xii. 14–29).

(7) Various exhortations (xiii. 1–17).
(8) Request for prayer (xiii. 18, 19).
(9) Prayer for readers (xiii. 20, 21).
(10) Final messages, Salutation, and Grace (xiii. 22–25).

XXVIII.

THE EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES.

A. The Author.

In Mk. vi. 3 we read of four, James, Joses, Judas, Simon, who are called "brethren" of the Lord, though whether the term implies full brothers, half brothers, or even, as Jerome supposes, cousins, has been much disputed. So late as the last year of our Lord's life these "brethren" seem still to have doubted His claims (Jn. vii. 5); but immediately after His Ascension we find them included amongst the small number of faithful disciples (Ac. i. 14), and St. Paul states positively that the Risen Lord appeared to James (1 Co. xv. 7). A few years later, St. Paul, on his first visit to Jerusalem, three years after his conversion, *i.e.* about 38 A.D., saw St. James there (Gal. i. 19), and St. Peter on his escape from prison, about 44 A.D., sent news to St. James in particular (Ac. xii. 17). Again, in about 49 A.D., St. James appears as President of the Council held at Jerusalem to consider the question of the admission of Gentile Christians into the Church

(Ac. xv. 4–29). When St. Paul visited Jerusalem for the last time in the year 56 A.D., it is again St. James who is singled out as the head and spokesman of the community there (Ac. xxi. 18).

Finally, the Jewish historian Josephus relates that much indignation was aroused at Jerusalem by the action of the high priest Ananus in putting St. James to death, at a time when there was no Roman procurator in Judæa, about 62 A.D.[1]

It has become traditional to assign the Epistle to this James, the "brother" of the Lord. James, the son of Zebedee, seems to be excluded by his early death (Ac. xii. 2). James, the son (probably) of Alphæus (Lk. vi. 15), has sometimes been regarded as identical with James, the Lord's "brother." This view, however, clashes with Jn. vii. 5, though there has never been complete agreement on the point. In any case there is no reason for ascribing the Epistle to James, the son of Alphæus, of whom practically nothing is known.

B. Date of the Epistle.

Upon the traditional, and natural, assumption that the James of i. 1 is identical with St. James of Jerusalem, the brother of the Lord, it seems probable that the Epistle was written from Jerusalem about the year 60 A.D.

It cannot, however, be denied that there are features about the Epistle which suggest an earlier

[1] Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx. 9. 1.

date. The principal of these is the undeveloped character of the theology. So few and slight are the specific references to the doctrines of Christianity that it has been possible to argue that the whole work was originally Jewish, i. 1 and ii. 1 being additions made when it was adopted for use in the Christian Church. The Christian background to the Epistle appears, however, at other points, *e.g.* i. 18, ii. 7, v. 7, 8, as well as in passages which seem to depend upon sayings of Christ, *e.g.* v. 2, 3, 12. It has been urged that this simple, undoctrinal tone which pervades the work is due to its primitive character, and that the Epistle must therefore be one of the earliest writings of the New Testament.

It may, however, be argued that this very simplicity of matter and manner is a proof rather of late than of early date, since the needs of the Early Church would necessarily lie in the direction of instruction as to Christ and His work. It would not be for some time that a writer could assume this as common ground and leave it out of sight in constructing a Christian homily.

A further argument for an early date has been based upon the total absence of any allusion to the Council held at Jerusalem in 50 A.D., over which St. James presided. Here again, however, it is only necessary to suppose that a year or two had elapsed after the Council. The importance of its decision was primarily for the Gentile converts of St. Paul. Yet St. Paul himself did not use the decision of the Council in his correspondence with his

converts, and there is still less reason why St. James should have done so in this Epistle.[1]

The chief reason for placing the Epistle towards the end of the life of St. James turns upon the fact that in two respects, one general and one particular, it seems to betray a dependence upon the work of St. Paul.

(*a*) In the work of St. James we have a literary Epistle, a contribution, and perhaps the earliest, to Christian literature, in contrast to the letters of St. Paul with their private, personal characteristics. In the history of human progress the spontaneous private letter preceded the more artificial literary epistle, and there is some sort of probability that within the Christian Society events took the same course. This consideration, however, could not be decisive by itself. Such literary epistles were not unknown to the Judaism of the time, and St. James may well be credited with the idea of applying to the needs of the new society a form of literature with which no educated Jew could be unacquainted. It is only when we consider the characteristics of the Epistle a little more closely that the aspect of the question changes. The work is not only literary

[1] The Epistle is quite free from Jewish legalism. Its law is the "law of liberty" (i. 25). It has been suggested that St. James would not have taken this attitude before the Council, and the incident of Gal. ii. 11–14, which probably preceded the Council (p. 142), may be taken as evidence in support of this view. The point is doubtful, since St. James cannot be held responsible for the action of his representatives (Gal. i. 12), but if it is upheld, it confirms the argument for the later date.

but doctrinal, even though only to a slight extent, and it is certainly the more probable view that St. Paul should have set the example of writing doctrinal letters, and that St. James should have been following his lead when he composed this Epistle.[1]

(*b*) The dependence of St. James upon St. Paul may be illustrated further in one particular respect. The relation of the teaching of St. James about Faith and Works (ii. 14–26) to the teaching of St. Paul is a very vexed question, but the easiest solution of the difficulty is to suppose that St. James had in mind, when he wrote this section, some who had perverted the teaching of the Apostle of the Gentiles.[2]

In these two respects, therefore, the Epistle of St. James suggests that behind it there lay a period of gradual growth and development within the Christian Church. There had been development in epistolary communication. The private letters of St. Paul to single Churches were too valuable to be neglected, and were becoming known outside the Churches originally addressed. Others were now beginning to imitate his letters, and thus the foundations of Christian literature were being laid. Further, there had been development in the formulation of Christian doctrine. There had been time for St. Paul's teaching about the relation of Faith to Works to become widely known, and, more than that, to be misused.

But in other ways also the Epistle approves itself

[1] Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 344.

[2] If St. James is attacking St. Paul himself, he has wholly misunderstood him, and uses "faith" in a very different sense.

as a product of a somewhat developed rather than a very primitive Christianity. The writer addresses it "to the twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion" (i. 1). If this phrase is used of the members of the Christian Church in general, there must lie behind it many years of gradual expansion of meaning. In its literal sense only applicable to the Israel after the flesh, which to the pious imagination of a devout Jew was still a nation of twelve tribes, it could only be used of the new Israel of God after the struggle for the admission of Gentiles into the Church, and when time had proved that the Israel after the flesh had forfeited its claims to its older titles and prerogatives, and that these had been transferred to those who, not by descent but by faith, were children of Abraham.

And, further, not only had there been development and growth, but there had been time also for spiritual declension before St. James wrote. The Apostle has painted for us a series of pictures illustrative of the Christianity of his day. He has selected for comment types of the Christian character as he had come in contact with them, and some of them betray signs of the wearing effect of time upon an imperfect Christianity. The restless ambition which would usurp authority to teach (iii. 1); the jealousies and factions (iii. 14); the friendship of the world (iv. 4); the merchants who make plans for the future regardless of the will of God (iv. 13–15); the rich who oppress their labourers while they themselves live in luxury (v. 1–6): all these are instances

of a Christianity which has behind it some years, not only of growth, but of declension also.[1] As our Lord had foreseen, the enemy was sowing tares among the wheat of the kingdom, and both were growing together until the harvest.

C. Analysis.

i. 1. Salutation.

i. 2–12. The trials of faith not a sorrow but a joy, perfecting character by fostering endurance.

i. 13–18. Temptations are not from without but from within. They are not from God, for only that which is good can come from Him, who is Eternal Goodness. A typical example of His gifts is the message of the Gospel with its recreative influence.

i. 19–27. All this is not to be argued about, but to be received with humility and put to the test of life's experience.

ii.–v. 12. Some flaws in the Christian character :

(1) ii. 1–13. Servile respect for the rich.

(2) ii. 14–26. Formalism.

(3) iii. Assumption of authority, leading to factiousness.

(4) iv. 1–10. Worldliness, which introduces warfare into the Christian character, fostering a love of

[1] While there is some real weight in this argument, it must not be overstated. Parallels for practically all these social dangers may be seen in the primitive Pauline communities, as reflected in the letters of their founder.

the world which strives in the heart with the love of God.

(5) iv. 11–12. Slander.

(6) iv. 13–17. Self-willed independence.

(7) v. 1–6. Oppression of the poor.

(8) v. 7–11. Impatience under trials.

(9) v. 12. The use of oaths.

v. 13–15. Advice to the physically diseased.

v. 16–18. Advice to the spiritually diseased.

v. 19–20. Exhortation to energy in the work of saving souls.

D. Criticism and the Epistle of St. James.

The Epistle seems to have been singularly little known in the Early Church. During the first two centuries only Hermas shows any clear trace of its influence. The first mention of it as the "Epistle of James" is in the writings of Origen, who seems hardly sure whether it should be accepted as canonical, and even in the fourth century Eusebius classes it as "disputed." It was not until the end of the fourth century that the position of the book as canonical was finally secured.

Many critics have felt that an Epistle written by St. James of Jerusalem could hardly have had so obscure a history, and have therefore either assigned it to some James otherwise unknown, or regarded it as the work of a writer who wrote under the pseudonym of St. James in order to secure himself a

hearing.[1] In this case the date of the Epistle becomes very difficult to fix. It has been seen above that its primitive character is intermingled with features which seem to presuppose the doctrinal teaching of St. Paul and a developed, and even a declining, type of Christianity. It has been suggested, therefore, that the Epistle may have been written to some small local Syrian Church about the end of the first century, possibly even as late as 150 A.D., though it is difficult, if so late a date is adopted, to account for the use of the Epistle made by Hermas. Upon this theory the primitive character of the Epistle is explained by the obscure and unprogressive character of the Church to which it was written. This would also account for the difficulty with which the Epistle won its way into general circulation, as well as for the fact that it is in Syria that it first comes clearly into view.

It is hardly possible to estimate the probability of this theory, in view of the scantiness of the internal evidence of the Epistle itself. It is perhaps unlikely that St. James of Jerusalem should have been the master of so cultured and idiomatic a Greek style as is here employed. This point cannot be urged with any great certainty, but it has been felt so strongly by some of those who maintain the traditional

[1] This hypothesis, however, does not account for the vagueness of i. 1. A pseudonymous writer would have been more explicit. It has been suggested as a third alternative that i. 1 was inserted when the Epistle came into ecclesiastical use (based on 1. Pet. i, 1), embodying a tradition which was current as to the authorship. This view suffers from the same objection.

authorship as to lead them to conjecture that the Epistle is a translation from an Aramaic original. The character of the Greek, however, renders this most improbable, and certainly constitutes something of a difficulty upon the traditional view.

XXIX.

THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF ST. PETER.

A. Destination and Place of Writing.

The letter is directed to "the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion[1] in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia" (i. 1). To this group of Churches St. Peter sends Silvanus, *i.e.* Silas, St. Paul's old companion, a fitting messenger to the Churches which St. Paul had founded.[2] The order in which the districts[3] are mentioned suggests that Silas was intended to take a circular route, starting in the north of Asia Minor and working east

[1] The term Diaspora, used technically of the Jews who were scattered throughout the Roman world, seems here to have lost all connection with Judaism. The Church had grown almost imperceptibly out of Judaism, and hence the transference of meaning was easy. Cf. Ja. i. 1.

[2] Not necessarily by direct personal contact. St. Paul had probably hardly touched Pontus, or Bithynia, or, perhaps, Northern Galatia. Yet these Churches, like that at Colossæ, would naturally recognise that they owed their existence to him.

[3] It is much disputed whether the names given are used in the official sense, as names of Roman provinces, or more loosely in accordance with local custom. In either case the destination of the Epistle is the same, and the above inferences hold.

and south, then turning west to Asia, and finally coming north again to Bithynia.

This fact has an important bearing on the question of the place of writing. If St. Peter was at Babylon on the Euphrates (v. 13), it is almost incredible that his messenger should have been directed to begin his mission at this remote corner of Asia Minor. And, indeed, Babylon seems to have been in a state of desolation in the first century A.D. (Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 9. 5–9). There was another Babylon, in Egypt, near Cairo, but this was apparently only a military station, and not at all a probable centre for St. Peter and Silvanus. It is thus almost certain that the name Babylon is used here, as in the Book of the Revelation, to signify Rome. Eusebius, in his *History* (ii. 15), mentions that this was a common usage. This would account for the itinerary marked out in i. 1,[1] and at the same time agrees much better than any other view with the early and constant Church tradition that St. Peter, like St. Paul, was martyred at Rome.

B. The Date.

The general argument used above for the comparatively late date of the Epistle of James applies also to this Epistle.

[1] Not wholly, since Ephesus would have been the most natural starting-point. But Pontus was easily accessible from Rome. Bigg (*Inter. Crit. Comm.*, p. 70) suggests that the Pontic Christians may have desired to set on foot a mission in the surrounding districts, and that Silvanus was sent to assist with the organisation.

(1) Like St. James, St. Peter probably owed the method of writing letters of a doctrinal character to St. Paul's creative genius.

(2) Like St. James, again, St. Peter shows an acquaintance with St. Paul's teaching. Though his letter has strongly marked characteristics of its own, it has many points of contact with those written by St. Paul. How far this can be taken to prove literary dependence is very uncertain, in view of the currency which certain ideas, and even phrases, must have gained from constant preaching. There seem, however, to be distinct reminiscences of Romans, and, indeed, it is almost impossible that this Epistle should not have come into St. Peter's hands : [1]

Compare	iv. 13, v. 1	with	Rom.	viii. 17, 18.
„	iv. 1	„	„	vi. 7.
„	ii. 5	„	„	xii. 1.
„	i. 14	„	„	xii. 2.
„	ii. 13–17	„	„	xiii. 1–7.

There are also a considerable number of parallels with Ephesians :

Compare	iii. 22	with	Eph.	i. 20, 21.
„	i. 14, iv. 2, 3	„	„	ii. 3.
„	iii. 18	„	„	ii. 18.
„	ii. 4–6	„	„	ii. 20–22.
„	i. 12	„	„	iii. 10.
„	iii. 4	„	„	iii. 16.

[1] Especially as copies were probably sent to more than one Church.

These parallels are perhaps not so striking as those with Romans, but there is a further marked similarity between the structure of 1 Peter and that of Ephesians. Both, it may be noted, are circular letters, and the parallelism may be displayed as follows :

(*a*) Salutation : i. 1, 2 ; Eph. i. 1, 2. The two forms are partly identical.

(*b*) Thanksgiving : i. 3–ii. 10 ; Eph. i. 3–iii. 21. This section is introduced with the same words in each Epistle, " Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who . . ." In each case the following points are emphasised : Hope through the Resurrection (i. 3 ; Eph. i. 18–20) ; the Christian inheritance (i. 4 ; Eph. i. 14) ; " unto praise and glory " (i. 7 ; Eph. i. 6, 12, 14) ; the contrast between the old life and the new (i. 14, Eph. ii. 2, 3) ; redemption through the blood of Christ (i. 19 ; Eph. i. 7) ; Christ the cornerstone of the Christian society (ii. 4–6 ; Eph. ii. 20–22) ; the admission of Gentiles to the privileges and titles of the covenant people (ii. 9, 10 ; Eph. ii. 11–19).

(*c*) Practical Exhortations : ii. 11–v. 11 ; Eph. iv. 1–vi. 20. Here sections deal with : Servants (ii. 18 ; Eph. vi. 5) ; wives (iii. 1–6 ; Eph. v. 22–27) ; husbands (iii. 7 ; Eph. v. 28–33) ; amiability (iii. 8–12 ; Eph. iv. 31, 32) ; the avoidance of Gentile vices (iv. 1–4 ; Eph. iv. 17–24) ; God's manifold gifts (iv. 10, 11 ; Eph. iv. 7–16).

(*d*) Recommendation of the bearer of the letter: v. 12; Eph. vi. 21, 22.

(*e*) Benediction: v. 14; Eph. vi. 23.

(3) Like St. James, St. Peter applies to the Christian society terms originally applicable only to the Israel after the flesh (*e.g.* i. 1, "the Dispersion"; ii. 9, 10). This implies a period of gradual growth of Christian terminology, as well as a considerable extension of the Church among the Gentiles.

(4) A much disputed indication of date is given by the various references to persecution. It is clear that such persecution was severe (i. 6, iv. 12) and widespread (v. 9). The real nature of Christianity was misunderstood, and all manner of charges were brought against converts (ii. 12; iii. 15, 16, in which passage some think that there is a reference to the need for self-defence in a court of law). Even the bare name of Christian was sufficient to call down persecution upon its bearer, though whether at the hands of the State or at those of private individuals is not very clear (iv. 14, 16).[1]

Some scholars, Dr. Bigg, for example, think that these allusions point to a period before the persecution set on foot by Nero in 64 A.D. It is difficult, however, not to think that the language of iv. 12–19 is too strong for such annoyances as were suffered by St. Paul at Ephesus (Ac. xix.) and Philippi (Ac. xvi.). We must therefore assign the letter either

[1] Some think that the State is intended by the "adversary" of v. 8.

to the date of the great persecution, which doubtless took effect in the provinces as well as in the capital, or to some later period. The former alternative gives 64–66 A.D., a date which agrees well with the other indications, and also with the probable date of St. Peter's death.[1] Professor Ramsay has argued that it was not until the beginning of the reign of Domitian that Christians were put to death for the mere name of Christianity. Before that date, he thinks, some other charge was always alleged.[2] Thus he puts the date of the letter at about 80 A.D., and holds that it was by Domitian that St. Peter was put to death. But, as Pliny's letter to Trajan shows, the procedure against Christians was still wholly irregular at the beginning of the second century, and there is no trace of any change in the law during the latter part of the first century. And it is very improbable that St. Peter lived to so great an age.

Thus all our evidence seems to converge on the years 64–66 A.D. The Epistle cannot be much earlier, because of its dependence upon St. Paul. The political situation points to that date; and St. Peter's martyrdom probably took place within the following year or two.

[1] Traditionally assigned to 67 A.D.

[2] Yet Tacitus (*Annals*, xv. 44) says that most of Nero's victims were put to death not on the specific charge of incendiarism, but simply as haters of mankind. This would mean in practice that the mere confession of Christianity, without any further charge, would be sufficient for conviction and death.

C. Analysis.

(*a*) i. 1, 2. Salutation.

3–12. Thanksgiving for the hope (3) and joy (8) of the Christian revelation.

(*b*) i. 13–ii. 10. Exhortations to the Christian life.

(1) i. 13–25. Because of this hope (13) you must be patient and holy (15), living like men who have been redeemed by the blood of Christ (18–21). From faith and hope must spring love (22).

(2) ii. 1–3. As being regenerate (i. 23) you must lead the simple and guileless lives of new-born babes, growing into Christian manhood on the nourishment of Christ's goodness.

(3) ii. 4–6. From another point of view, it is as though you had entered into a building of which Christ is the corner-stone, and yourselves at once the stones of the building and the worshippers within it.

(4) ii. 7–8. Unbelievers, so far from being built upon this stone, stumble over it and perish.

(5) ii. 9–10. Yours is a happier destiny.

(*c*) ii. 11–iv. 11. Exhortations to civil and domestic virtues.

(1) ii. 11, 12. Check slander by living honourable lives.

(2) ii. 13–iii. 7. Submit to lawful authority

(*a*) as citizens,

(*b*) as servants,

(*c*) as wives,

(*d*) as husbands.

(3) iii. 8–12. Endeavour to lead simple, gentle, kindly lives, which shall fulfil the ideal of the Psalmist.

(4) iii. 13–iv. 6. Lives like these should disarm your enemies. But, in case of persecution, remember that Christ also suffered undeserved wrong, culminating in death, and that you must follow His example.

(5) iv. 7–11. In view of the impending judgment, live honest lives of prayer and love, each man serving God according to the measure of grace given to him.

(*d*) iv. 12–v. 11. Further special exhortations.

(1) iv. 12–19. Do not think it strange that you should be persecuted. Esteem it a participation in the sufferings of Christ. But see to it that persecution be not justified by evil living on your part. Judgment is near, and the fate of the wicked will be a terrible one.

(2) v. 1–4. Advice to Church elders.

(3) v. 5–11. Submit to those in authority in the Church, for such lowliness God loves, and it brings with it freedom from worry and care. But it must not induce carelessness, for the great enemy is always on the watch.

(*e*) v. 12–14. Closing messages.

D. Criticism and the First Epistle General of St. Peter.

This Epistle was well known and freely quoted in the Early Church. It was used by Papias and Polycarp, and in the Didache and the Epistle to Diognetus. The first allusion to it by name occurs in Irenæus. It is curious that the Muratorian Fragment does not allude to it.[1]

In spite of this strong external evidence, the authenticity of the Epistle has been disputed on several grounds.

(1) Those who see in the references to persecution a trace of a date later than about 80 A.D., for the most part deny the Petrine authorship. This argument in itself is inconclusive, since, as has been shown above, these references may well point to the time of the Neronian persecution.[2]

(2) It is argued that St. Peter, an uneducated fisherman of Galilee, who could not even speak his native Aramaic without an accent (Mt. xxvi. 73), is very unlikely ever to have been able to write such good Greek as this Epistle shows. And though he must certainly have been able to speak Greek,

[1] The omission may be due to the incompleteness of the document, which, curiously enough, mentions the apocryphal Apocalypse of Peter. As the Epistle was certainly widely known at this time, no conclusion could possibly be drawn further than that it was not yet in regular use at Rome.

[2] The suggestion that the occasion of the letter was Pliny's attempt to suppress Christianity in Bithynia (112 A.D.; cf. i. 1) is now generally abandoned.

to some extent, in order to carry on missionary work, this argument is not without weight. The suggestion has been made that the real meaning of v. 12 is that Silvanus wrote the Epistle either at St. Peter's dictation or under his direction, so that the language would be largely due to him. Parallels for this are to be found in the amanuenses employed by St. Paul (*e.g.* Ro. xvi. 22) and in St. Mark's Gospel, which, if Papias is to be trusted, is built up on the basis of St. Peter's reminiscences.

(3) The dependence upon St. Paul, illustrated above, has also caused difficulty. It is not possible to conceive of St. Peter as a mere slavish imitator. Yet no writing of the New Testament so closely approaches the Pauline Epistles in spirit. There are parallels of idea, of phrase, and even of structure. So strongly is this Pauline spirit marked that Harnack has conjectured that the work was written by a disciple of St. Paul, and that the introduction and the close of the Epistle were added in the second century, ascribing it to St. Peter in order to secure its place in the Canon. This theory, however, and indeed all theories which deny the Petrine authorship, fails completely to account for the ascription of the letter to St. Peter rather than to St. Paul, the best known letter-writer of the Early Church. Further, the difficulties of i. 1, 2, v. 12–14 are by no means eased by this hypothesis. It seems more natural to see the hand of Silvanus, St. Paul's old companion, in the composition of the work, and to believe that St. Peter wrote it with his aid, giving him to some extent

a free hand in the expression of the thoughts. And, at the same time, it is by no means unlikely that St. Peter himself had by this time come to some extent under the influence of the more powerful intellect of St. Paul.[1]

These denials of the Petrine authorship raise, in fact, more difficulties than they settle.

(1) The Epistle is of marked originality and force. The whole emphasis on the glory of the Christian redemption and the richness of the Christian hope is applied to the practical needs of the moment in a manner very unlike the mystical ecstasy of St. Paul (*e.g.* ii. 4–10, iv. 13, 14). The doctrinal passages, in which the dependence upon St. Paul is most marked, are secondary rather than primary in the writer's thought.

(2) Not only has the Epistle peculiar turns of thought and expression, as, *e.g.*, the recurrent conception of the new birth (i. 3, 23, ii. 2), but at several points it reflects the ideas and language of the speeches assigned to St. Peter in the early part of the Acts. Perhaps the most striking parallel is the juxtaposition of the doctrine of man's disobedience with the apparently conflicting doctrine of Divine predestination (ii. 8; Ac. ii. 23; cf. also i. 2, 20).

[1] The Tübingen theory that SS. Peter and Paul were at the head of violently opposed factions in the Early Church has failed to hold its own. The sole evidence for it in the New Testament is 1 Co. i. 12; Gal. ii. 11–14. These do not demand such an interpretation, which is contrary to all the evidence of the Acts, and is not supported by post-apostolic writings to any serious extent.

Other parallels may be seen by a comparison of i. 10 with Ac. iii. 18, of ii. 7 with Ac. iv. 11, of ii. 24 with Ac. v. 30 and x. 39. No explanation of these coincidences is so simple as that which assigns both the speeches and the Epistle more or less directly to St. Peter himself.[1]

(3) The pseudonym hypothesis fails completely to explain how a document containing so much that is Pauline ever came to be assigned to St. Peter.

[1] The denial of the historicity of the Petrine speeches in Acts would almost necessitate the view that the author of Acts based them on 1 Pet., thereby showing his belief that the Epistle was authentic.

XXX.

THE SECOND EPISTLE GENERAL OF ST. PETER.

A. Date and Destination.

This letter claims to be "the second epistle" (iii. 1) written by St. Peter to some Church which is not specified. If this claim is admitted, it is natural to identify the Churches addressed with those mentioned in 1 Pet. i. 1, and to suppose that this letter, like its prececessor, dates from the very close of St. Peter's life, and that it was sent from Rome in about 66 A.D. An alternative is to suppose that the letter referred to in iii. 1 has been lost, and that this letter was sent to some community, perhaps in Syria or in Palestine, at a date sufficiently before that of 1 Pet. to account for the wide differences which exist between the two letters. This, however, seems to be rendered impossible by the allusion to St. Paul's Epistles in iii. 15, 16.

B. Analysis.

(*a*) i. 1–11. An exhortation to growth in the Christian life in view of the hope afforded by the promises of God.

(*b*) i. 12–21. The certainty and truth of the Christian faith based

(1) upon the Divine witness borne to our Lord Jesus Christ at the Mount of Transfiguration;

(2) upon the word of prophecy.

(*c*) ii. A denunciation of false teachers within the Christian Church, and a prophecy of the judgment which will overtake them. This is illustrated by three examples of judgment from the Old Testament history:

(1) The fallen angels (v. 4).

(2) The flood (v. 5).

(3) Sodom and Gomorrah (v. 6).

(*d*) iii. The approaching destruction of the world by fire, and the reason for the apparent delay in the coming of the Lord.

C. Criticism and 2 Peter.

The difficulties raised by the claim made by this Epistle to Apostolic origin are not easily set aside. The following are some of the more important:

(*a*) The language of the Epistle has left very few traces upon the literature of the second century. There are what appear to be echoes of it in Justin and in Theophilus of Antioch, and, with more certainty, in the letter sent to the Christians of Asia by the Church of Lyons and Vienne at the time of the great persecution in 177 A.D. These allusions are perhaps sufficient to show that the letter was in existence by 150 A.D., but it can have been exceedingly little known, and it is not until the middle of the next century that it is expressly mentioned by Origen, who

admitted that there were doubts as to its authorship. About a century later Eusebius says that it had not been traditionally received as canonical, though it had been read with the other books. A century later still, Jerome tells us that it was yet disputed, and for some five centuries the Syrian Churches seem not to have admitted it into their canon. Thus the external evidence is late, and even when the Epistle began to find its way into the number of the canonical books there were not wanting objectors, whose voices were not silenced for many years.

(*b*) There are striking differences between this and the First Epistle in thought and language. The Second Epistle is marked not only by a very different vocabulary, but also by a far more cumbrous and grandiose method of composition. This difficulty might perhaps be met by the supposition that St. Peter used another amanuensis, but this view will hardly account for the divergences of thought. The Paulinism of the First Epistle has wholly vanished. The spirit of "hope" (1 Pet. i. 3, 13, 21, iii. 15) has given place to an emphasis on "knowledge" (2 Pet. i. 2, 3, 8, ii. 20) foreign to St. Peter and St. Paul alike. There is no trace of the allusions to the sufferings of Christ which play so prominent a part in the First Epistle (1 Pet. i. 11, ii. 21, iii. 18, iv. 1, 13, v. 1).

(*c*) There can be little doubt that the second chapter of this Epistle and Jude, vv. 4–16, are related in such a way that one writer must have used the work of the other. Both passages are a denunciation of unworthy Christians, who are

described in very similar language, with close verbal parallels (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 1, 2 with Jude 4 ; 2 Pet. ii. 10 with Jude 8 ; 2 Pet. ii. 11, 12 with Jude 9, 10 ; 2 Pet. ii. 17 with Jude 12, 13). In both, the future punishment of these reprobates is illustrated by the judgment of (1) the fallen angels (2 Pet. ii. 4 ; Jude 6); (2) Sodom and Gomorrah (2 Pet. ii. 6, Jude 7). Both compare their conduct to that of Balaam (2 Pet. ii. 15 ; Jude 11).

It is usually held that the priority is on the side of St. Jude, and this is rendered almost inevitable by 2 Pet. ii. 11, which is hardly intelligible without the fuller allusion in Jude 9. It is not very easy to suppose that St. Peter would have appropriated the work of St. Jude in this remarkable way.[1]

(*d*) iii. 15, 16 seem to imply that St. Paul's letters were already regarded as on a footing with "the other scriptures," *i.e.* the Old Testament. This suggests a second-century date, as does the language of iii. 4, which alludes to the first generation of Christians as long dead.

(*e*) It has been held that the teachers attacked are identical with the licentious Carpocratians of the early second century. This cannot be pressed in view of the fact that this type of error had appeared

[1] It has been argued that while St. Jude speaks of these teachers as present in 2 Pet., they are still to come. But this is in keeping with the great effort made throughout to give the work the appearance of coming from St. Peter's pen (in itself a suspicious circumstance in view of the simplicity of 1 Pet.). And the pretence breaks down, *e.g.*, in ii. 10, 15, 17–19, 22. For Petrine allusions, cf. i. 14, 16–19, iii. 1, 15.

within the first century in the case of the Nicolaitans of Rev. ii. 6, 14, 15 (cf. especially 2 Pet. ii. 15).[1] But it is hard to think that the teaching here attacked is not more developed in type.

(*f*) The discovery of an Apocalypse of Peter dating from the earlier years of the second century, and apparently known to the Church at large before this Epistle came into general circulation, does not ease the problem. The two works are clearly related in some manner, but the evidence is not sufficient to show which of the two is the older.

With regard to the first of these difficulties, it might reasonably be argued that such an Epistle was less likely to become widely known at an early date than were St. Paul's letters, and that it may well have remained for some time in the possession of the Church to which it was first sent, and not have been published to the Church as a whole until a later period.[2] This, however, completely fails to account for the internal evidence, and especially for the wide contrast between this Epistle and 1 Pet. The hypothesis of Spitta and Zahn that the Epistle should be placed earlier than 1 Pet., and regarded as addressed to some Syrian Church before St. Peter came under the influence of St. Paul, breaks down upon the clear indications of a late date within the Epistle itself. Attempts have been made to save the Epistle in part by regarding ii. 1–iii. 4 as an interpolation based upon St. Jude and inserted

[1] The comparison, both here and in Jude 2, may depend upon Rev. ii. 14.

[2] Cf., *e.g.*, the early history of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

in a genuine Epistle by St. Peter. The theory, however, does not work out well. The style is homogeneous throughout, and the phrases which have a late sound, do not all occur within the supposed interpolation.

Against this cumulative evidence there is little to set except a Church tradition which is neither primitive nor secure, and the claim of the Epistle itself to Petrine authorship. This latter fact is discounted, at least in part, by the admitted existence of other writings composed under the pseudonym of St. Peter. This device of ascribing religious works to earlier teachers, that they might go forth with a certain initial prestige, was by no means uncommon in the Early Church, nor is there any sign that it was ever regarded as in any way dishonest.[1] That such a work should have found its way into the Canon of Scripture is neither surprising nor in any way discreditable to that Canon.[2] And if the pseudonymous hypothesis is true—and it is difficult to believe that it is not—it is merely another proof of that which can hardly be denied, namely, that the Church was not guided merely by unconsidered tradition in selecting the sacred literature of the Canon, but that the decision was at least affected by the intrinsic witness of the books themselves to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

[1] Cf., *e.g.*, the ascription of the "Athanasian Creed" to St. Athanasius, and of the "Apostolic Constitutions" to the Apostles.

[2] It cannot be too often repeated that we have no right to regard our present ideas of literary honesty as necessarily acknowledged by all honest writers of every age. And there is no reason why the Early Church should not have accepted the standard of its own period.

XXXI.

THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF ST. JUDE.

A. Author and Date.

The author of this short work is "Judas, a servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James."[1] This James must clearly be the famous St. James of Jerusalem, and in that case the Judas mentioned is one of the four "brethren" of the Lord alluded to in Mk. vi. 3. So far as we know, St. James lived and died at Jerusalem; but St. Paul hints that the other brethren of the Lord were, like himself, engaged in missionary enterprise (1 Co. ix. 5).

St. Jude's work is stamped as a literary Epistle by its universal character, by the absence of local detail and of all traces of personal intercourse between writer and readers. Like St. James, he addresses himself to the collective Christendom of his day (v. 1). So too the doctrinal and literary character of the treatise, together with its epistolary form, suggests that the writer was acquainted with the

[1] Or, both here and in Lk. vi. 16, "the son of James." If this is the true translation, we know nothing of this Judas at all except that he was one of the Twelve.

methods used by St. Paul. The professing Christians whose immoral life he denounces seem to have sheltered themselves behind the Pauline doctrine of grace (v. 4). In other respects, too, the author writes as if he were looking back over a considerable period of Church growth. He speaks of "the faith" as though it had already become a formulated and systematised body of doctrine (vv. 3, 20).[1] He mentions "the Apostles" as a distinct order in the Church (v. 17),[2] and speaks as though he himself were living in "the last time" (v. 18) which they had only anticipated and of which they had prophesied[3] (vv. 17, 18). It is easy to over-estimate the late-Christian character of expressions like these, but at least it will seem advisable to find a date for the Epistle from which the writer can have looked back upon much of St. Paul's missionary activity. On the other hand, the Second Epistle of St. Peter is undoubtedly dependent upon St. Jude,[4] and if its authenticity is accepted, both documents must be placed before 67 A.D. The errorists mentioned, however, are of a character rather unlikely at so early a date, and it is probably better to assign the Epistle to the later years of the first century.

This Epistle is unique in the New Testament for its open dependence upon Jewish Apocryphal litera-

[1] Cf., however, the use of "faith" in 1 Ti. i. 19, vi. 10, 21; 2 Ti. iii. 8, iv. 7; Eph. iv. 5; and even Gal. i. 23.

[2] Cf. Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11; Rev. xviii. 20.

[3] Cf. 1 Ti. iv. 1, 2; 2 Ti. iii. 1, 2.

[4] See p. 255.

ture. The prophecy quoted in v. 14 is taken from the Book of Enoch, and the description of the patriarch in that verse as "the seventh from Adam" is taken from the same book (lx. 8, xciii. 3). It is doubtful whether the source of the allusion in v. 9 is to be looked for in Jewish tradition or, as Origen believed, in a Jewish Apocryphal work called the Assumption of Moses.

B. Analysis.

vv. 1, 2. Salutation.

3, 4. The purpose of the letter—to warn the readers against professed members of the Christian community who were leading immoral lives.

5–7. Three examples from ancient history of God's punishment of such sinners:

(1) The Israelites in the wilderness.

(2) The angels who fell.

(3) Sodom and Gomorrah.

8–13, 16, 19. Further description of these sinners.

14, 15. Their punishment foretold in the Book of Enoch.

17, 18. Their coming foretold by the Apostles.

20–23. Exhortation to a right development in the Christian faith, and to a right attitude towards the libertines referred to above.

24, 25. Doxology.

C. Criticism and the Epistle of St. Jude.

Many scholars have felt that the evidence within the Epistle pointing to a late date is such as to

carry it outside the possible lifetime of St. Jude. The principal argument for this view is that those whom the author attacks show a great resemblance to those early Gnostics who held that the Christian law of liberty set them free from all moral restraint. Some have even seen in v. 12 an allusion to the Marcosians of *c.* 160 A.D. This is an impossibly late date. It is more plausible to see in v. 11 a reference to the earlier Cainites,[1] but the connection is by no means a necessary one, and, especially in view of the Nicolaitans of Rev. ii. 6, 15, there is no reason for supposing that such moral disorders could not have arisen within the first century.

It is also pointed out that vv. 17, 18 seem to be a direct allusion to the predictions of 1 Ti. iv. 1, 2; 2 Ti. iii. 1, 2. Those who place the Pastoral Epistles considerably after the time of St. Paul are accordingly driven to place this Epistle some years at least later still.

The external evidence does not give much assistance. The Epistle is not of a type likely to be much quoted, and, apart from its use in 2 Pet., there is no certain trace of its existence until the end of the second century. At that date it appears as canonical in the Muratorian Fragment, in Tertullian, and in Clement of Alexandria, though doubts still remained over a century later, in the time of Eusebius.

On the other hand, if the Epistle is not the work

[1] A branch of the Ophites who, believing that the God of the Old Testament was a bad God, made heroes of all the bad characters of the Old Testament, besides rejecting the Law.

of St. Jude, the "brother" of the Lord, it becomes necessary to account for the ascription in v. 1. It is not easy to see why a second-century writer should have chosen so obscure an Apostle as a pseudonym. And the suggestion that the words, "the brother of James," are a later insertion, and that the Epistle is really due to some unknown Judas of the second century, is wholly lacking in support.

XXXII.

THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF ST. JOHN.

A. Author and Destination.

The traditional ascription of this Epistle to St. John is confirmed by its close resemblance to the Fourth Gospel in thought and language. Like the Gospel, it was probably written at Ephesus towards the close of St. John's long life, though there is nothing in its contents to fix the date with any accuracy. The constantly recurring "little children," together with the slow and rambling progress of the thought, suggests that the writer was an old man, and the Epistle must be assigned to the closing years of the first century. The one period that is unlikely is that of Domitian's persecution, the stress of which would hardly have failed to disturb the lofty, unruffled idealism of the work. It may well fall even later, and belong to the beginning of the reign of Trajan.

No destination is mentioned in the Epistle, but it is natural to suppose that it was sent, perhaps as a sort of Bishop's Pastoral, to the Churches of Asia. It was intended to warn them against the views of

certain false teachers, who seem to have denied that Jesus was the Christ (ii. 22), maintaining that the Christ only appeared to take a human body (iv. 2; cf. v. 20). This seems to echo the theory of Cerinthus, that the æon Christ descended upon Jesus at His baptism. And it is interesting to note that in about 115 A.D. Ignatius writes most violently to the Churches of Asia against certain who were teaching that the body of Jesus Christ was a mere appearance. As Cerinthus taught at Ephesus, where, according to tradition, he was attacked by St. John, these features of the Epistle may point to an Asiatic destination.

B. Contents.

i. 1–4. The subject-matter of the Apostolic preaching is the manifestation of the Divine Life in the Incarnation. The method of that preaching is to bear witness to the historical facts, through which the Divine Life made itself manifest. Its purpose is to communicate to others that fellowship with the Divine Life in which the Apostles themselves are sharers.

2–10. The truth about the Divine Life which the Incarnation has made clear is summed up in this, that "God is Light." Fellowship with God must therefore issue in moral goodness. Those who so "walk in the light" attain that fellowship with the society of Christian believers which implies fellowship with God, and are gradually cleansed from sin. Mean-

while, sin is a very real fact in life, and denial of its existence is a denial of the truth.

ii. 1–6. For sinful acts there is a Divine remedy. The proof that it is effectual in any given case is the power to "keep his commandments."

7–11. These commandments are summed up in the command to love the brethren.

12–17. This love, which is the duty of the Christian Society, must be kept distinct from love of the world.

18–29. The Creed of the brethren, leading to fellowship with God, compared with the Creed of the world.

iii. 1–12. The children of God, enjoying fellowship with Him, compared with the children of the world.

13–24. The love of the brethren, issuing in fellowship with God, compared with the hatred of the world.

iv. 1–6. The Spirit of God compared with the Spirits of the world.

7–21. Love of the brethren the key-note of the Christian life.

v. 1–12. Love of God the strength of the Christian life.

13–21. Knowledge of the truths written in this Epistle the confidence of the Christian life.

C. Criticism and the First Epistle General of St. John.

There is little dispute as to the date of the Epistle. It was probably known to Ignatius, and certainly to Polycarp, Papias, and Justin. The Muratorian

Fragment apparently associated it with the Fourth Gospel, and by the end of the second century, in Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, it was widely known as the work of the Apostle John.

The objections to the Apostolic authorship are in the main the same as have been alleged against the Fourth Gospel, and have been discussed above.[1] It has been argued further that in spite of the obvious resemblances between the two works they are not by the same author, but are merely products of "the Johannine school." The differences urged are, however, very slight. The failure of the Gospel to mention "antichrists" (1 Jn. ii. 18, 22) and to speak of Christ as a "propitiation" (ii. 2, iv. 10)[2] hardly amounts to more than accident. The alleged opposition between the conceptions of the Paraclete is not borne out by a comparison of Jn. xiv. 16 and 1 Jn. ii. 1, though it is true that the relation of the Spirit to Jesus Christ is not worked out in the Epistle as it is in the Gospel. That the omission is again insignificant is shown by 1 Jn. v. 7, "the Spirit is the truth," a phrase which connects directly with Jn. xiv. 17, xv. 26, and so suggests that the author of the Epistle also regarded the Spirit as a Paraclete, even though he happens to confine that term to Christ Himself. That the Epistle should omit all mention of the "signs" wrought by Jesus is quite

[1] See p. 80 ff.

[2] This conception is indeed involved in Jn. i. 29 ("The Lamb of God"), and symbolically throughout the Gospel.

natural in view of its purpose and in view of the fact that the Gospel itself was probably in circulation in the Churches for which it was written.[1] The enhanced conception of faith as the acceptance of an orthodox christology (1 Jn. ii. 23, iii. 23, iv. 15, v. 1) had naturally no place in the Gospel, which deals with the period when that faith was being formed, and even there it may find an echo in the phrase "believe into the Name" (Jn. i. 12, ii. 23, iii. 18; cf. 1 Jn. iii. 23).[2] Such differences as these are wholly inadequate to outweigh the very striking parallels of thought and language. It is sufficient to specify in general the constant and characteristic allusions to life, light, and truth. In particular, 1 Jn. i. 1–3 seems directly to reflect the Prologue of the Gospel, and the author seems to claim, even more plainly than in Jn. i. 14, that he had himself been an eye-witness of the Word of life. This passage is thus an important witness for the Apostolic authorship not only of the Epistle but of the Gospel also.[3]

[1] Even if the Gospel was not yet written, the teaching which it embodies must have been well known.

[2] The phrase seems to have baptismal associations, and it is probably something of an anachronism in the Gospel.

[3] It would not, however, exclude "John the Presbyter," if Papias is right in calling him "a disciple of the Lord." On this, see p. 90.

XXXIII.

THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN.

A. Author and Destination.

It is clear that these two short letters are closely connected. They are very similar in structure, and have a number of phrases in common. It seems most natural to suppose that they were written at about the same time by "the elder" (2 Jn. 1; 3 Jn. 1), in connection with a visit which he was about to pay to some community (2 Jn. 12; 3 Jn. 14).

It is traditional to identify the elder with the Apostle John. That an Apostle might well call himself an elder is shown by 1 Pet. v. 1; while the close resemblance in style and contents between 2 Jn. and 1 Jn. is such as to make it clear that all three Epistles are by one author. The Second and Third Epistles must be dated from the latter part of St. John's life at Ephesus; but a more exact date cannot be fixed.

The Second Epistle is addressed either to an individual lady, called "the elect lady," or "the lady

Electa," or " the elect Kyria," or " Electa Kyria," [1] or, as is perhaps more probable, to a community, purposely left without further specification for reasons unknown to us.[2] It is intended as a warning against the false teachers who are also mentioned in the First Epistle, their special heresy being the denial of the reality of the human body of Jesus (v. 7).

The Third Epistle was perhaps sent to an individual member of the same community, one Gaius. Its object is to commend him for the hospitality which he had shown to Christian missionaries, and to bespeak that hospitality for Demetrius. Incidentally the writer mentions that one Diotrephes has arrogated to himself an unwarranted authority in the Church, actually suppressing one of the letters of " the elder." Of none of these men is anything further known.

B. Contents.

2 Jn. :

1–3. Salutation addressed to the " elect lady."
4. Thanksgiving for the faith of her children.
5, 6. Exhortation to love.
7–11. Warning against false teachers.
12, 13. A visit promised. Salutation.

[1] The parallel in v. 13 makes it unlikely that " Electa " is here a proper name.

[2] v. 13 appears to speak of another Church under the same figure, and v. 4 would be rather strange of the children in a single family. The analogy with 1 Jn. also points in the same direction.

3 Jn. :

1. Salutation addressed to Gaius.

2–4. Good wishes for his welfare and congratulations on his faith.

5–8. His hospitality commended.

9–11. The self-assertion of Diotrephes.

12. A testimonial to Demetrius.

13, 14. A visit promised. Salutations.

C. Criticism and the Second and Third Epistles of St. John.

The brevity of these notes sufficiently accounts for the lack of allusion to them during the second century. The Muratorian Canon, however, recognised one, and probably both, of them as Johannine.[1] Irenæus quotes the Second Epistle, though he apparently confuses it with 1 Jn., and both the Second and Third Epistles were known to Clement of Alexandria. Doubts arose later as to their authenticity, as is seen in Origen and Eusebius, but this was merely due to their slightness and brevity.

These doubts have been much renewed in modern times with the general tendency to ascribe the Johannine literature to a Johannine school, centring in the John "the Presbyter" mentioned by Papias. It is tempting to identify this John with the "elder" of these letters. But the question is really a wider

[1] It had probably mentioned the First Epistle in connection with the Gospel, in which case the "superscripti Johannis duæ" refers to the Second and Third Epistles.

one, and it cannot be said that these short writings contribute much to its solution. If the five Johannine books are not all by a single writer, it becomes necessary to determine the relation of these letters to the other books of the group. It is natural to associate them with the First Epistle, with which the Second has close and obvious parallels, but a number of scholars prefer to class them with Revelation, assigning this group to a different author. The details of style quoted to support this are very slight. The chief are the difference of outlook in 1 Jn. iv. 2; 2 Jn. 7; cf. Rev. i. 8, and the rather Pauline salutation in 2 Jn. 3. The latter point is of no special significance, and the former may be due to a real difference of circumstance in the occasions of the letters. The teaching attacked may easily have had more phases than one. It would be an easy transition from a docetic view of Christ's life on earth to a docetic view of the Parousia.[1]

There is little evidence for any close connection of these letters with Revelation. Thus, with 1 Jn. and the Fourth Gospel, they may well be regarded as the work of the Apostle, though the fact that they are anonymous prevents such a conclusion from being more than probable.

[1] This latter view may, indeed, be the older. It is quite possible that these two Epistles are considerably the earliest of the five Johannine writings.

XXXIV.

THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE.

A. Its Difficulty.

Of all the books of the New Testament this is the farthest removed from modern life and thought. Historical narrative, such as we have in the Gospels and Acts, is still a recognised branch of literature. Letters, whether addressed to individuals or to societies, are still written and published. But Apocalyptic has long ceased to be, as once it was, a popular branch of literature, and a well-recognised and legitimate medium for the transmission of religious ideas.

Consequently the book is, and must remain for the most part, unintelligible to the average reader. Of course it stands on a level with the other books of the New Testament as a storehouse of texts from which the devout may nourish faith and foster devotion; but when it is a question of understanding the general scope and tendency of the book, of appreciating its meaning for its first readers, of interpreting its significance and value for the Church as a whole—then, besides the difficulties that always

surround every book written in an age and under circumstances far removed from our own, there confronts us the additional difficulty that we are dealing with a form of literature that has long since fallen into disuse.

Hence it follows that any attempt to discover the secrets which this book seems to contain is certainly doomed to failure unless a very considerable equipment of historical knowledge is brought to the task. Only an acquaintance with Apocalyptic literature as a whole, and some understanding of the religious ideas which it was its special function to transmit, can give us a clue to the interpretation of the Revelation of St. John and help us to understand the lessons that it has to teach.

B. Some Characteristics of the Apocalypse.

(*a*) It contains prophecies, or, rather, is a prophetical writing (cf. i. 3, xxii. 7, 10, 18, 19). It might seem, therefore, that our first duty was to study the Old Testament prophecies and apply to this book the canons of interpretation so learned. Such a course would, however, prove unsatisfactory by itself. For

(*b*) we have here an example of that late development of Old Testament prophecy which is conveniently grouped under the name of Apocalyptic literature (cf. i. 1, "the Revelation," or "Apocalypse"). We can trace the transition of prophecy into apocalypse even in the Old Testament, where in parts of Isaiah

(xxiv.–xxvii.) and Zechariah (xii.–xiv.) we have apocalyptic prophecy, and in Daniel an apocalypse in a more fully developed form. Such literature had a great extension in the last two centuries before Christ, as a recognised vehicle for religious teaching.[1]

In order, therefore, to understand the Christian apocalypse known as the Book of Revelation, it is plainly necessary to study the Jewish writings of the same type. Why did writers adopt this method of speech? What were the religious conceptions which it, and it alone, could convey? Who were the people for whom it was written? What ideas lie behind its structure, its literary form, its phraseology? Only by such a study can we hope to avoid the common error of applying to this Apocalypse methods of exegesis which are purely artificial and arbitrary.

(*c*) The literary character of the book is very strongly marked, and it is important to recognise it. It may be emphasised along the following lines:

1. The book is not only an example of a well-recognised branch of Jewish literature, but it is in large part based upon its predecessors. The author has not scrupled to avail himself of the labours of others who had previously toiled in the same wide field of literature. The prophecies of Daniel and Ezekiel, of Isaiah and Zechariah; Apocalypses like the Book of Enoch and

[1] See articles on "Apocalyptic Literature" and "Eschatology" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. The student should, if possible, make himself familiar with some of the works here mentioned, especially "Enoch" and 2 Esdras, besides the Book of Daniel.

2 Esdras; the sayings of our Lord—all alike have furnished the writer with means by which he might convey to the Christian Church of his day the truths which had been revealed to him in vision. The reader may notice, *e.g.*, how in the description given in i. 12–17 the author draws from previous literature phrases of well-known symbolism to describe the Majesty of the great Head of the Churches: cf. "white as wool" with Dn. vii. 9 ("pure wool"); "a flame of fire" with Dn. x. 6 ("as lamps of fire"); "his feet like unto burnished brass" with Dn. x. 6 ("his feet like in colour to burnished brass"); "his voice as the sound of many waters" with Ezk. xliii. 2 ("his voice was like the sound of many waters"); "his countenance as the sun" with 2 Es. vii. 97; Secrets of Enoch. i. 5, xix. 1; Mt. xvii. 2; "out of his mouth proceeded a sharp two-edged sword" with Is. xlix. 2 ("my mouth like a sharp sword.")

2. Again, the form under which the writer conveys his message is one common to Jewish literature. He describes a series of visions in which he was caught up into heaven, similar in type to the visions in Dn. vii. 1, 2, viii. 1, x. 4, 5; Ezk. i. 1.

If, then, the book be a free literary production which imitates the outward structure and adopts the phraseology of earlier literature, how can it be regarded as containing a direct revelation given to the writer? The case appears to stand thus: To the author had been revealed, whether in vision or otherwise, truths of vital importance to the Christian Society of his day, which he believed himself to be inspired to com-

municate to his fellow-Christians. For the expression of these truths the literary device of a series of visions suggested itself as advisable, either because as a matter of fact visions had been the vehicle in which the conceptions which he wished to convey had presented themselves to his own consciousness, or because they were of that class of "eschatological" ideas which had frequently in previous literature been expressed under the form of vision.

With the vision form the writer would naturally adopt the symbolic phraseology popular in the Apocalyptic literature of the day. Since only that which is visible can be seen, abstract terms would be out of place in his work. Thus when he wished to express the Divine attributes (i. 12–17) he could only adopt symbols; and it was obviously necessary that these symbols should be easily recognisable by his readers. Of course there may have been other motives unknown to us which induced the writer to employ the apocalyptic structure and phraseology. The important fact is that he has done so purposely, and is consciously writing a literary work.

(*d*) One other feature of the book follows from what has been already said. The book is prophetical, it is apocalyptic, it is largely based upon previous literature, but in large measure the writer is compelled to create imagery suited to express the truths of which his mind is full. Thus the book is a work of inspired imagination, and in this respect has affinities with such works as the Book of Job. It is not unfitting that the Canon of New Testament

Scripture, which begins with work of the inspired historical instinct, narrating in simple prose the occasion and circumstances of the Divine dwelling among men, which continues with products of the inspired theological and philosophical temper, expressing itself in occasional letters or in epistolary literature, should end with a work of the inspired imagination of the Christian seer, exhausting human language in an attempt to picture that which will need a new language to portray in its reality, the final and unending dwelling of God within the Society of the redeemed in the New Heaven and the New Earth.

C. Date.

The question of the date of the publication of the Revelation is of great importance for the interpretation of the book. The writer, in accordance with a belief which was widespread in the Apostolic period (cf. Mt. xxiv. 29), looked for the near return of the ascended Messiah, and sought to trace in the history of his own day the signs and tokens which were to precede that great event. Much of his language, therefore, can only be understood through the medium of historical knowledge, and the great difficulty of the book is largely due to our ignorance of the circumstances under which it was written.

Early tradition, first found in Irenæus, assigns the work to the time of Domitian's persecution, towards the close of the first century. This date seems to agree better than any other with the allusions

to the worship of the beast, *i.e.* Cæsar-worship, since this cult of the reigning Emperor was hardly taken very seriously before the reign of Domitian.[1]

There are, however, distinct traces of an earlier date. xi. 1–13 must have been written before the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. A similar date is suggested by the difficult passage xvii. 9–11. Here by the "seven heads" the writer seems to mean seven Roman Emperors, of whom the sixth is now reigning. Unfortunately we do not know whether the writer reckoned from Julius Cæsar or from Augustus, or whether he took any account of the year of anarchy after the death of Nero. It is perhaps most natural to assign the passage to the time of Vespasian, but an earlier date is by no means impossible.[2]

These facts make it improbable that the book was all written at one period. It seems most natural to suppose that it took its present form and was sent to the seven Churches in the reign of Domitian,

[1] Nero rather objected to it than otherwise. Vespasian recognised it, but took no great trouble to enforce it.

[2] The interpretation of this passage is bound up with that of xiii. 3. The head that "had been smitten unto death; and his death-stroke was healed," is understood by some as an allusion to the murder of Julius Cæsar, which would make a Neronic date for these passages, or at least for xvii. 9, 10, probable. It may, however, refer equally well to the death of Nero and subsequent confusion, which yet did not bring the Empire to an end.

The fact that "the number of the beast" appears to allude to Nero implies, rather than excludes, a date after Nero's death, since the rumour soon spread that he was not dead, but would return at the head of the Parthians (cf. ch. ix.) to destroy Rome. It is thus possible that the author intends to signify that Domitian is Nero restored to life.

but that the writer not only adopted the imagery of the apocalyptic literature, but also embodied certain portions of earlier works, whether his own or another's, which seemed appropriate for his purpose.

However this may be, and certainty is perhaps unattainable, one important and central fact emerges, that in the historical background from which the writer's conceptions take their rise the Roman Empire and its great metropolis occupy a pre-eminent position. The Empire is the seven-headed beast of ch. xiii. that makes war upon the saints; Rome is the great harlot that sits upon seven mountains (xvii. 3–9), "drunken with the blood of the saints and of the martyrs of Jesus" (xvii. 6), the mystic Babylon (xiv. 8, xvii. 5, xviii. 2, 10, 21). This gives the right clue to the interpretation of the book. In detail much remains obscure, and it is impossible to put together a connected or chronological forecast of events between the writer's own period and the final consummation which he foretold. But the following points seem clear:

(*a*) The author is writing at a time of general persecution, set on foot by the State and persecuted with relentless vigour (cf. i. 9, vii. 9, 14, xii. 11, xiii. 7, 15). In particular, Rome had been the scene of many martyrdoms (xvii. 6, xviii. 20, 24).

(*b*) He wishes to console and comfort his fellow-Christians under these trials (i. 9, ii. 10, iii. 10, vii. 14–17).

(*c*) He does not endeavour to do so by holding out hopes of a near cessation of persecution—on the

contrary, persecution is to increase in severity—but by describing, under the form of an apocalyptic forecast of the near future, the ultimate victory of Christianity over the foes that are opposed to it.

(*d*) Amidst much that is obscure in this unveiling of the future, two events stand out with great distinctness :

1. The approaching downfall of the Roman Empire, preceded by a period of increased persecution.

2. The near return of the Ascended Christ (i. 1–3, iii. 11, xxii. 7, 12, 20).

D. The Writer's Outlook.

From what has been said it is clear that the prophetic insight of the writer is confined to the near future. It does not extend beyond the horizon of his own age. In the forefront of facts stands the Roman Empire, its metropolis Rome, its central representative the Roman Emperor. As he views it in its attitude of relentless hostility to the Christian Society, the conception which it presents to his consciousness takes ever darker colours. In its iron supremacy over the minds and bodies of men, its persecution of the Christian faith, its godlessness, its arrogance, it seems to him to sum up and embody all the forces of evil in the world. Behind it, and using it for the purpose of waging a war to the death against the Divine Will, are the supreme powers of evil, the representatives of the world of darkness, Satan and all his hosts.

The writer was acquainted perhaps with that traditional form of our Lord's words in which, as, *e.g.*, in Mt. xxvi. 29, 30, the downfall of Jerusalem seems to be made the climax of the world's history, the last act which should precede the Second Coming of the Son of Man to judgment. But it was plain to him that the words could not be bounded by so near an horizon. He seems to allude to the desolation of Jerusalem (xi.), but to him this forms but one stage in a large series of events in which the fall of Jerusalem was only preparatory, typical of the downfall of a greater city still, Rome, the home and centre of all evil, the mystic Babylon, upon which the prophecies of the older dispensation were now at last to find their complete fulfilment (cf. xviii. with Ezk. xxvi.–xxviii.; Jer. li.; Is. xlvii.).

To the writer this collapse of the anti-Christian Roman State was an event within the outlook of his own generation (xvii. 10). It would be followed (xix. 1–11) by the return of the conquering Redeemer who would finally vindicate His supremacy over all the forces of evil and thus prepare the way for the great scene of God's final judgment (xx. 11).

In this fore-shortening of history the writer of the Apocalypse stands with the prophets of the Old Testament. To Isaiah, *e.g.*, the day of God's judgment upon the nation for its sins, the "Day of the Lord," with the Messianic period which it was to usher in, was close at hand, and might be discerned on the political horizon about to be inaugurated in the Assyrian invasion. But the Assyrians passed away from the forefront of history and still the

Messiah tarried, to come at length under circumstances and at a period beyond the vision of any of the Old Testament prophets.

So it is with the Apocalypse. For the writer and his readers the second "Day of the Lord," with its judgment upon His enemies and His own return, was close at hand. For those who had eyes to see, it was already dawning in the political outlook of the near future. But, as before, the vision tarried. The imperial power of Rome has passed away. The signs which were to precede the final downfall of the city have lost their significance because the historical circumstances which might have given us the key to their interpretation are separated from us by eighteen hundred years of forgetfulness. Yet, as in the Old Testament, the central principles of prophecy remain of permanent and abiding value. If not now and here, yet at some time and somewhere the might of evil shall be crushed beneath the conquering Christ. And we, like the writer of this book, await with gladness and expectancy the creation of the New Heavens and the New Earth in which all things shall be made new.

E. Analysis.

i. 1–3. Introduction. The nature of the work and its authority.

i. 4–8. Author's preface.

i. 9–iii. 22. Messages to the Seven Churches.

iv.–xvi. 21. Visions in which are foretold in figure the events preceding the fall of Rome.

(*a*) The Seven Seals (iv. 1–viii. 1).
(*b*) The Seven Trumpets (viii. 2–xi. 18).
(*c*) A great Sign in Heaven (xi. 19–xiv. 20).
(*d*) Another Sign in Heaven (xv.).
(*e*) The Seven Bowls (xvi.).
xvii., xviii. The Fall of Rome.
xix. The Second Coming of Christ.
xx. The Final Judgment.
xxi.–xxii. 9. The New Heaven and the New Earth.
xxii. 10–21. Closing words.

F. Criticism and the Apocalypse.

Few books of the Bible have given rise to so much dispute as the Revelation of John. This is not due to any weakness of attestation in early times, since the book was widely known by the middle of the second century. Justin explicitly assigns it to the Apostle John. It was known to Papias, to the Churches of Lyons and Vienne at the time of the persecution in 177 A.D., and there is even an apparent echo of it in Ignatius. By the end of the second century it was used in many parts of the Empire. Irenæus, in particular, assigns it to "John, the disciple of the Lord," meaning thereby the Apostle.

Yet even in the second century there was a reaction against the book. An obscure group of Christians, called by Epiphanius the Alogi, rejected it, as well as the Fourth Gospel, probably on account of its popularity with the Montanists. During the

third century the book was distinctly unpopular in the East, and it did not find its way into the Syrian Canon at all. This was due not so much to any weakness in the tradition assigning the work to the Apostle John as to its real internal difficulties. Dionysius of Alexandria pointed out the wide difference in style between it and the Gospel, and concluded that they could not be the work of a single writer. He suggests John Mark, or some other John of Asia, "since they say that there are two tombs in Ephesus, each with the name of John." Eusebius, too, thinks that John the presbyter may be the author.

The discussion has been reopened in modern times, upon much the same lines as those laid down by Dionysius. The natural starting-point is the peculiar style, very unlike the smooth and accurate, if simple, Greek of the Fourth Gospel. Revelation contains quite a number of grammatical mistakes, of a kind which seems to betray a distinct lack of familiarity with the Greek language (cf. ii. 20, iii. 12, vii. 9, ix. 14, xx. 2, etc.). Some of these are clearly due to Semitic influence; but this does not make it much more easy to understand how one writer could have written both this book and the Fourth Gospel. The difficulty would be less if we could suppose that Revelation was written in the time of Nero, some thirty years before the Gospel; but the evidence for a date in the time of Domitian is too strong to be set aside lightly. Zahn has endeavoured to meet this difficulty by conjecturing that the Gospel was revised by a friend of St. John who had a greater knowledge

of Greek, while the Apocalypse was left untouched. Ramsay suggests that a convict's life in Patmos made the Hebrew prophet in St. John break out in this strange, passionate form. It was a last outburst by the "Son of Thunder." Possibly this last hypothesis does some justice to the divergence between the books, a divergence which goes much further than style and language. Yet it is not easy to think that the author of the Gospel should have wholly forgotten the love and fatherhood of God; that the Spirit should be regarded from the Hebrew standpoint as purely prophetic; that the "friend" of God (Jn. xv. 15) should have become His "slave" (Rev. xxii. 3). Even the apparent parallels of thought are rather superficial. Thus in the description of Christ as the "Lamb of God" different words are used. In the use of "the Word" as a title for Christ there is no apparent connection of thought (Rev. xix. 13; Jn. i. 1). Such parallels would be amply explained by supposing that the two books were both due to the school of Johannine teaching in Asia.

There is no reason to doubt that the book is, as it claims to be, the work of one John, exiled in Patmos for the faith (i. 1, 4, 9, xxii. 8). Yet the very fact that the writer thus mentions his name is contrary to the practice of the other Johannine writings, which are all anonymous, while xxi. 14 and xxii. 9 do not read as though he were an Apostle. Baur, however, accepted the traditional authorship, but used it as a weapon to attack the authenticity of

the Gospel. This view was bound up with his general theory of early Christianity, and has fallen with it. It is now more common to assign Revelation to John the presbyter, following the guess of Eusebius, a view which makes it distinctly easier to believe that the Gospel is the work of the Apostle. Some, however, still hold to the common authorship of the two books, notably Harnack, who regards both as the work of the presbyter.

The problem cannot be considered closed in any direction, but a new element of uncertainty is brought in by the probability that the work is composite. It has been shown above that different passages seem to reflect different periods in the first century. Many attempts have been made, starting with that of Weizsäcker in 1882, to disentangle the sources used by the author. A further question arises as to whether these sources are Jewish or Christian. Thus Spitta finds two Jewish apocalyptic sources joined, by a later editor, with a Christian work written by John Mark in about 60 A.D.[1] No theory of this class has won acceptance in all its details, though the majority of critics are agreed that the author incorporated portions of earlier works. This position has been strengthened by Gunkel, who has shown that much of the imagery of the book goes back to earlier Babylonian mythology. This is now widely accepted, though some, *e.g.* Bousset, find other mythologies besides that of Babylon repre-

[1] Following the hint which Dionysius had given, but only to set it aside.

sented.[1] Bousset also argues that the evidence which seemed to point to sources of different periods is really due to an imperfect blending of the old myths. He is thus able to defend the literary unity of the book. But it is more usually held that it was through earlier writings, from which the author borrowed, that this mythological machinery of apocalypse came into his work.

This does not settle in any way the question of authorship, since it is perfectly possible that the Apostle John should have used earlier material in this manner. Indeed, the different strata which appear in the book may be due in part to a later editing by the author of a work written by himself at an earlier date. It is safer, in the present state of our knowledge, to return an open verdict.

[1] Especially in ch. xii., in which he sees a reflection of the Isis-Horus myth.

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